

# Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

EDITED BY  
JAMES HASTINGS

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF  
JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D.  
PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE  
UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, ABERDEEN  
AND  
LOUIS H. GRAY, M.A., Ph.D.  
SOMETIME FELLOW IN INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

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## MAGIC.

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**MAGIC (Introductory).**—1. History of the term and problem of its definition.—In any general treatment of the subject of magic the problem of its definition must occupy the chief place, seeing that it constitutes a veritable storm-centre in the anthropological literature of the present day. As so often happens when a word belonging to the common language, and used in vague and conflicting ways, is taken over by science that it may correspond to some precise concept, theorists interested in different and more or less incompatible concepts claim exclusive rights over the same technical term; so that, if they are at all equally matched, the term becomes for the time being ambiguous, i.e., it answers to more concepts than one. Something of this kind has occurred in regard to the word 'magic.' It may be instructive, then, to begin with a glance at its meaning as a popular expression. It is, of course, the lineal descendant of the Gr. *μαγία* and the Lat. *magia*, which in their strictest sense refer simply to the religion, learning, and occult practices of the Persian Magi, or priests of the sect of Zoroaster, in the form in which they became known to the West (see art. *MAGI*). Such matters, however, being both foreign and ill-understood, would naturally be more or less suspect. Hence the word tends from the first to carry with it the unfavourable associations summed up in the notion of witchcraft (see, for instance, Hesychius, s.v. *μάγος*, which he identifies with *μάγος*, and Pliny, *HN* xxx. 11; and for further references cf. H. Hubert, in Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Magia'). These associations the equivalent words in the various languages of modern Europe have never lost. Bacon's attempt to rehabilitate *magia* as natural science in its operative aspect (*de Augmentis scientiarum*, iii. *ad fin.*) proved quite abortive. Thus it comes about that the modern anthropologist in attributing 'magic' to a given people can hardly do so without at the same time implying that it is something inferior and bad—something that, however prevalent it may be, belongs to the lower levels or even to the pathology of mind and society. A survey of representative views on the subject will bring out the fact that, in this respect at least, most, if not all, theories tend to be at one.

2. Representative views.—As far back as 1870 E. B. Tylor laid it down that the 'confusion of objective with subjective connexion, . . . so uniform in principle, though so various in details, . . . may be applied to explain one branch after another of the arts of the sorcerer and diviner, till it almost seems as though we were coming near the end of his list, and might set down practices not based on this mental process, as exceptions to a general rule' (*Researches into the Early Hist. of Mankind*, p. 129). He adds that the same state of mind will account for tabus, many of the food-prejudices of the savage, for instance, depending on the belief that the qualities of the eaten pass into the eater (*ib.* p. 133). Such an attitude of mind he characterizes as one of 'gross superstition and delusion' (*ib.* p. 119), even while allowing that at a stage of development when human life 'was more like a long dream' such a

system of error was perfectly 'intelligible' (*ib.* 139 f.). He pursues the same line of explanation in his later work, *Primitive Culture*, where magic is described as 'occult science,' i.e. a 'pseudoscience' (3rd ed., i. 112, 119). 'The principal key to the understanding of occult science is to consider it as based on the association of ideas, a faculty which lies at the very foundation of human reason, but in no small degree of human unreason also' (i. 115 f.). He adds a disquisition on the futility of magic arts, in which he maintains that 'in the whole monstrous farrago' there is practically no truth or value whatever (i. 133). Meanwhile, he holds that the laws of mind are as unchanging as the laws of chemical combination, so that 'the thing that has been will be' (i. 159). The 'symbolic magic' of the savage and modern spiritualism are alike hurtful superstitions born of fallacies to which the human mind is naturally prone (see ch. iv., *passim*, esp. *ad fin.*).

J. G. Frazer (*The Golden Bough*) maintains a position which in most respects is identical with that of Tylor. In the first edition (1890) he credits primitive man with two views of the world that exist side by side, the one view being that it is worked by personal beings acting on impulses and motives like his own, the other view amounting in germ to the conception of nature as a series of events occurring in an invariable order without the intervention of personal agency. The latter is the view involved in sympathetic magic (*GB* i. 9), though the savage acts on it, not only in magic art, but in much of the business of daily life (*ib.* 31). In the second edition (1900) Frazer lays far more stress on the 'fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle between magic and religion,' being influenced especially by the theories of H. Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894), F. B. Jevons (*Introduction to the History of Religion*, London, 1896), and A. C. Lyall (*Asiatic Studies*, 1st ser., London, 1899). More than that, he is now disposed to affirm that, 'in the evolution of thought, magic, as representing a lower intellectual stratum, has probably everywhere preceded religion' (*GB* i. p. xvi). He still represents magic as 'next of kin to science,' since the two have in common the 'general assumption of a succession of events determined by law.' Magic is nevertheless only 'the bastard sister of science.'

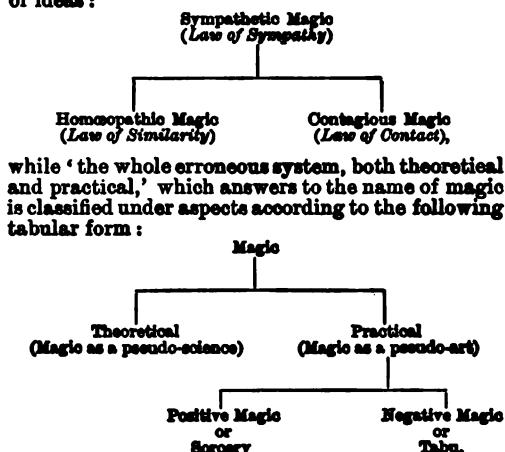
'All magic is necessarily false and barren; for were it ever to become true and fruitful, it would no longer be magic but science.'

All cases of sympathetic magic resolve themselves on analysis into mistaken applications of the laws of the association of ideas by similarity and contiguity.

'Legitimately applied' these same principles 'yield science; illegitimately applied they yield magic' (*ib.* p. 62).

Religion, on the other hand, 'is opposed in principle both to magic and to science,' since its fundamental assumption is that the course of nature and of human life is controlled by personal beings superior to man. Towards such beings conciliation must be employed, whereas to exert mechanical control is the object of magic and science, though the former often essays to control spirits, treating them, however, exactly as

if they were inanimate agents (*ib.* p. 63 f.). Finally, the human race are assumed to have passed through an 'intellectual phase,' in which they 'attempted to force the great powers of nature to do their pleasure,' and had not yet thought of courting their favour by offerings and prayer. Such an 'age of magic' finally gave place to an 'age of religion' only because mankind at length were led by experience to a 'tardy recognition of the inherent falsehood and barrenness of magic,' whereupon the more thoughtful part of them cast about for a truer theory of nature (*ib.* pp. 73, 76). In the third edition (1911) these main theses are retained, but the following scheme of the principal branches of magic (taken over from *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, ch. ii.) is added, in accordance with the view that magic is simply misapplied association of ideas:



(See *GB*, pt. I, *The Magic Art*, I. 54 and 112.)

The view that tabu is a negative magic did not appear in earlier editions of *The Golden Bough*. Frazer holds that, if not the whole doctrine of tabu, at all events a large part of it, would seem to be but a special application of sympathetic magic, with its two great laws of similarity and contact (*ib.* i. 111 n.).

E. S. Hartland (*Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914) enters on a full discussion of 'The Relations of Religion and Magic' (p. 26 ff.). He insists at the outset that they spring from a common root.

'I venture to suggest that in man's emotional response to his environment, in his interpretation in the terms of personality of the objects which encountered his attention, and in their investiture by him with potentiality, atmosphere, *orenda*, *mana*—call it by what name you will—we have the common root of magic and religion' (p. 66).

Correspondingly, magician and priest are differentiated from a common type, namely, the medicine-man.

'Roughly and provisionally it may be said that the professional magician is he who in the course of the evolution of society, by birth, by purchase, or by study and practice in the conventional methods, has acquired the most powerful *orenda*. Similarly, the professional priest is he who in these ways, or by prayer and fasting, has obtained the favour of the imaginary personages believed to influence or control the affairs of men—who has, in a word, possessed himself of their *orenda*. The union of these two professions in one person is not adventitious; it is probably fundamental' (p. 96 f.).

Hartland, while thus differing from Frazer on the question of origin, is disposed in other respects to follow the latter's method of delimiting magic and religion.

'Magic 'conveys the notion of power, by whatsoever means acquired, wielded by the magician as his own, and not as that of a higher being whose coöperation is only obtained by supplication and self-abasement' (p. 86).

On his view prayers and sacrifices are magical processes just in so far as a constraining power is attributed to them; and he asks, 'Have analogous

beliefs in the magical powers of a rite even yet disappeared from Christianity?' (p. 87).

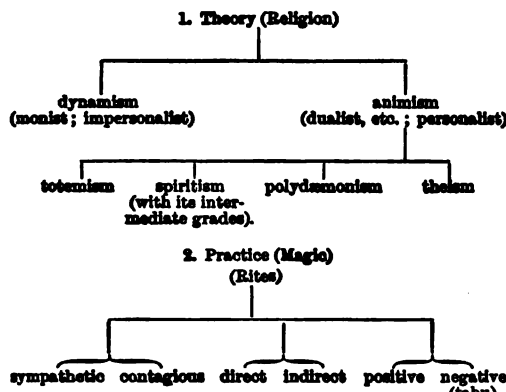
Religion, on the other hand, is 'confined to cultural systems, whose objects, so far as they are personal, are endowed with free will, are to be approached with true worship, and may or may not grant the prayers of their supplicants. . . . Where the object is impersonal, or is but vaguely personal, it is none the less treated with reverence and submission, as something transcending man; it is the object of an emotional attitude, actively directed towards it. The object thus, even where it is not personal, tends to become so' (p. 88).

A. Lehmann of Copenhagen (*Aberglaube und Zauberei von den ältesten Zeiten an bis in die Gegenwart*, Stuttgart, 1898) defines superstition (*Aberglaube*) as any belief which either fails to obtain authorization from a given religion or stands in contradiction with the scientific conception of nature prevailing at a given time. Correspondingly, magic or sorcery (*Magie oder Zauberei*) is any practice which is engendered by superstition, or is explained in terms of superstitious notions (p. 6 f.). By insisting on the essential relativity of these two ideas he claims to have avoided many difficulties that puzzled former inquirers. For instance, if it be asked how magic is to be distinguished from miracle, the reply is that it is all a question of standpoint, Aaron performing miracles while his Egyptian rivals are mere magicians (p. 9). For the rest, he finds two more or less independent theories to be equally at the back of magical practice, namely, the spiritist, which relies on the intermediation of personal agents, and the occultist, which calls into play mysterious powers of nature (p. 314).

H. Hubert and M. Mauss ('Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' in *ASoc* vii. [1904]) start from the conception of rites. Rites are traditional acts that are efficacious in a non-mechanical way, thus involving the notion of *mana* (*q.v.*), or wonder-working power (p. 14; cf. p. 138). Such a notion underlies the idea of the sacred as implied in a religious rite like sacrifice. A magical rite, though non-religious, involves ideas of the same order (p. 2 f.). The differentia of magical rites consists in the fact that they do not form part of an organized cult, and therefore tend to be regarded by the society concerned as illicit (p. 19). Thus religion and magic tend to stand to one another as two poles representing severally the social and the anti-social ways of trafficking with the miraculous. Finally, magic, as being always the outcast of society, becomes charged with all the effects of decomposition and rejection, and so is gradually differentiated from religion more and more. This very ingenious and weighty study of magic, to which a short sketch cannot pretend to do justice, is made, it must be remembered, from a strictly sociological standpoint, and throughout regards magic and religion not as phases of mind, but as social institutions, having as such a reality of their own determinable in terms of form and function.

Arnold van Gennep (*Les Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909) treats the magico-religious as an indivisible whole, distinguishing only between the theoretical and the practical activities which it comprises, and assigning the term 'religion' to the former and 'magic' to the latter. It is essential, in his view, to insist on the indissolubility of the relation between the theoretical and the practical sides, since the theory divorced from the practice passes into metaphysic, while the practice founded on another theory becomes science. For the rest, the mysterious forces which are the objects of magico-religious theory may be conceived equally well under an impersonal or a personal form; and, correspondingly, magico-religious practice, whether it issue in positive acts or in abstentions—viz. in the observance of tabus—may seek to deal with things either directly or indirectly through personal agents having power over the things, while the mechanism of association by

similarity and contact is involved in both cases alike. The theory is stated (p. 18) in tabular form as follows:



Wilhelm Wundt (*Völkerpsychologie*, vol. ii. pts. ii. and iii., Leipzig, 1907-09) makes myth or belief the ultimate source of cult or ritual, since the latter is but the former put into practice. There is but one mythical idea at the back of all rites, namely, the idea of soul; and from it are generated in succession three forms of cult, magic, fetishism, and totemism, which by reaction cause the idea of soul to develop correspondingly. To deal only with the first of these, magic in its primary form consists in the supposed direct action of soul on soul, as when the evil eye is feared, while the secondary form consists in supposed action from a distance, when the soul-influence makes itself felt indirectly by means of a symbol (ii. 46 f.). Thus Wundt is entirely opposed to the Frazerian theory that magic implies a theory of natural causation on the part of the savage. On his view, while ordinary events are accepted as a matter of course, extraordinary events, demanding as they do a theory that will account for them, are at first ascribed to the soul-power or will of a man, and later (when the stage of magic is transcended) to that of a magnified man, or god, similar soul-power or will being ascribed to inanimate objects and to animals at the intermediate stages of fetishism and totemism.

Here perforce must end the survey of representative views, those selected for examination at least exemplifying the wide diversity of the notions which it is sought for purposes of science to impose on a highly plastic, since popular, term. Now the purely verbal side of the question need not be a source of trouble. If the things are envisaged distinctly, the words may be trusted to look after themselves. Thus in the present case there are evidently different concepts answering to separate aspects of human life; and it will be sufficient for the present purpose if these aspects are discriminated, so that terminology may be given the chance of adjusting itself to the facts.

3. Magic as a general name for rudimentary cult.—On any theory of the evolution of religion which represents it as a single movement falling into distinguishable stages, there will always be a first stage of minimum development immediately preceded by a stage of what Bacon would call *absentia in proximo*—a 'pre-religious' stage, as it might be termed. Now, since the word 'magic' tends to bear an unfavourable sense, nothing is more natural than to dub magical whatever fails to come up to the evolutionary standard which religion is more or less arbitrarily taken to embody. It hardly matters whether, after the manner of Frazer, an age of magic is held to have

preceded the age of religion, or whether, in the style of Wundt, magic is identified with the lowest form of religion. In either case magic answers to something to which is assigned an unfavourable, because inferior, place in the evolutionary scale as compared with religion at its most characteristic. Anthropological science, however, is becoming increasingly chary of constructing any such scale on lines so simple and so drastic. Human evolution is a tissue of many interlacing strands; and, again, the savage of to-day is no older or earlier than the civilized man, so that typological and historical primitiveness cannot be identified off-hand. At most, then, it is with the help of psychological and sociological considerations of a general type that a primordial stage of mind and society can be theoretically posited, out of which determinate religion may be shown to have emerged by some sort of subsequent process. Such general considerations suggest that, just as Jourdain talked prose before he realized the fact, so the primeval savage acted before he thought about his action. Correspondingly, therefore, in the sphere of nascent religion there must have been a stage of cult or ritual (if so it may be termed), the product of sheer unreflective habit, which preceded the growth of ideas concerning the how and why of what was being done. Certain recurrent situations in the social life—and, as for the individual life, it is wholly subordinate to the social so long as mere gregariousness prevails—induce states of emotional intensity. The emotions must find a vent somehow. This they do either through activities directed to practical ends, such as hunting, fighting, and love-making; or else through secondary activities such as are not immediately practical in their object but serve simply as outlets of superfluous energy, such as the dances that simply play at hunting, fighting, or love-making. In either case habit entwines with the activities in question all sorts of more or less functionless accidents; and the presence of these unaccountable details helps to make the whole performance seem mysterious to the performers and still more so to the civilized onlooker. When the activity is of the directly practical kind, say, hunting, whereas the tracking, the killing of the game, and so on, explain themselves, the accompanying observances enjoined by custom which do not explain themselves so readily—for instance, wearing such and such a garb, uttering certain words, and the like—may well seem to call for justification even to the unthinking savage, who will at least translate his sense of the value of custom into the vague doctrine that there is 'power' in these things, that they 'work.' When, on the other hand, the activities belong to those of the secondary type which are not immediately practical, constituting 'protreptic' rites, as they might be termed, which, while affording emotional relief, act likewise on the whole as preparations for the business of life—very much as play does, in the case of the young—then accretions in the way of accidental features due to custom are likely to be more pronounced, inasmuch as there is no discipline of hard fact to impose bounds on the action. Meanwhile, in proportion as these secondary activities conform to the same stimuli as the primary activities of which they are the by-product, as, for instance, when the hunting interest overflows into a pantomimic rehearsal of the chase, they will wear an imitative appearance, though in reality being 'repercussions' rather than imitations. When, however, an *ex post facto* justification of them becomes necessary, it is quite natural that the doctrine that they have 'power' should implicate the belief that their seemingly imitative character has something to do with their efficacy. It is putting the



cart before the horse to say, as Frazer seems to do, that the belief that 'like produces like,' or what not, generates symbolic ritual. It is, on the contrary, symbolic ritual—i.e. a ritual that involves a more or less realistic reproduction of some practical activity—that generates the doctrine of 'sympathetic' causation in one or another of its forms. As a matter of fact, the so-called symbolic rites usually include all manner of details the mimetic bearing of which is at least not obvious; and the generalization that an 'age of magic' indulges in rites which are symbolic and sympathetic through and through is reached by picking out the abstract element of imitativeness which runs through primitive cult (and to no small extent through the more 'advanced' types of cult as well), and ignoring everything that is like nothing but itself, yet forms just as persistent a part of the approved ritual. If, then, we are going to use the word 'magic' loosely as a name for rudimentary or unreflective cult in general, let us at least identify the magical quality, not with the imitativeness, which is a secondary feature, but with the customariness, which is the real source of the value attaching to these non-utilitarian accompaniments of the more exciting moments of the practical life—these 'superstitious' practices, as the civilized onlooker ranks them. For the rest, in so far as these relatively unideated discharges of the social energy need any supporting doctrine, they would seem to find it, not in any philosophy about like producing like, and so on—ideas that appear quite late in the history of thought—but in vague notions of the *mana* type (see MANA). In other words, the savage comforts himself with no theory of *how* these ritual practices work, but is content to feel and know *that* they work—that, despite all appearances to the contrary (since their non-utilitarian character may be supposed to become gradually manifest), they have power and efficacy in them or behind them. It is just this faith in their efficacy that distinguishes nascently religious practices from such as are merely æsthetic. The former are so closely related to the practical activities that a sense of their contributory value runs through them, and they thus suggest and foreshadow practice in all sorts of ways that make for hope, courage, and confidence, whereas æsthetic enjoyment, though possessing a recreative function, does not thus point beyond itself. It remains only to ask whether 'magic' is a suitable word for the designation of the most rudimentary type of cult. On the whole, it would seem a pity for the evolutionist to apply a term redolent of disparagement to what on his view is a genuine phase of the serious life as lived under certain conditions of culture. It is far less question-begging to predicate religion throughout (unless, indeed, one is prepared to follow van Gennep, and predicate magic throughout as well as a general name for the practical side of religion—which is surely an abuse of language). The science of comparative religion, if it is to do its work properly, must impartially embrace the cults of all mankind in its survey.

An observation may be added for the benefit of the field-worker, who, as a rule, has to take over his classificatory apparatus ready-made from the hands of the theorist. If such an one has learnt to identify magic with the sympathetic principle or with those early forms of cult in which this principle appears to predominate, he will be inclined to label his collections of specific ceremonies 'hunting magic,' 'productive magic' (a term often used to describe rites of the *intichiuma* type, which bear on the increase of food-animals and plants), 'agricultural magic,' and so on. But it is just as easy to speak of hunting and agricultural 'rites' or 'ritual'; and it is much more likely to lead to an

unprejudiced description of all the relevant facts, whether they be of the sympathetic order or not. So, again, tabus are better treated as a part of ritual, namely, as observances of negative prescriptions, which will invariably be found to form one context with sundry other positive prescriptions; to make them a part of magic is neither necessary nor even natural according to the ordinary usage of speech. It may even be said to be now a recognized working principle that the first-hand observer should class all magico-religious phenomena under one general heading, and leave the theorists to determine how far, and along what lines, the differentiation of the magical and religious elements involved in the complex needs to be pushed (see *Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, issued by the Royal Anthropol. Institute, London, 1912, section on 'The Study of Magico-Religious Facts,' p. 251 f.).

4. Magic as a name for the black art and allied developments.—The view which has just been discussed and deprecated, that identifies magic with rudimentary cult as a whole, may be said to draw a horizontal line between magic and the later and more evolved products of the same tendencies which rudimentary cult embodies. The other view, which will now be examined, differs altogether from the former in that it draws a perpendicular line between magic and certain contemporaneous but rival growths which may be broadly classed under the two heads of religion and science. This point comes out very clearly in Lehmann's definition, which correlates magic with superstition as practice with theory, and in turn makes superstition co-extensive with such ideas as stand to the accepted religious and scientific beliefs of a given time in a relation of more or less direct conflict and contradiction.

(a) *Magic as the rival of religion.*—Starting once more from the fact that the word 'magic' tends to stand for something bad, we realize at once that it is possible to treat magic as a general name for all the bad kinds of trafficking with the occult and supra-sensible in vogue in a given society, while, conversely, religion may be taken to comprehend all the good kinds of such trafficking. Obviously the power of bringing wonders to pass is a two-edged sword, since surprising things may happen for weal and for woe, while, again, immoral as well as moral persons may seek benefit from miracle. It is, indeed, eminently characteristic of ideas of the *mana* type that they are, from a moral point of view, ambiguous and two-sided, covering all manifestations of the efficacy of rites, whether they be beneficent or maleficent in their intention (see MANA). Now it is easy to see how rites of an ill-intentioned kind will come to be practised and will have efficacy imputed to them. Hate, greed, and the other types of anti-social attitude being more or less endemic at all levels of society, they are bound to find expression in habitual activities that assume the character of mystic rites in proportion as they abound in accretions and in secondary activities of the expletive order, such as cursing in set phrases or destroying an absent enemy in pantomime. Moreover, the very fear which hate and malice awake in the breasts of those against whom they are directed is enough to create an atmosphere in which the natural seeds of black magic cannot but germinate freely. The almost universal dread of the evil eye illustrates very well how the responsibility for the existence of a belief in sorcery often rests with the credulous victim just as much as, or more than, with the alleged aggressor. Anthropological literature is full of striking examples of the tendency which W. E. Roth (*North Queensland Ethnography*, Bulletin no. 5, Brisbane, 1903, p. 28) calls *thanatomania*,

namely, the suggestibility leading sooner or later to death on the part of one who satisfies himself that he is doomed. Roth has had personal experience as a medical man of five or six such cases among the Queensland natives. Thus it comes about that, by an extension of the same line of thought, 'evil magic' becomes the stock explanation offered for any form of accident or mysterious disease.

'An individual becomes incapacitated through some chronic and painful illness which does not answer to the various aboriginal methods of treatment or *materia medica*: the illness weighs upon his mind, and after a time he becomes more and more confirmed in his conviction that someone has been "pointing" the *mununggwi* (death-bone) at him—i.e. that a "bone," pebble, flint, etc., has been put inside him and his blood removed' (W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1897, p. 154).

Indeed, it has often been observed that the savage scarcely recognizes the fact of 'natural' death, so ready is he to impute the event to the sinister arts of some particular individual or at least to the machinations of persons unknown (cf. art. LIFE AND DEATH [Primitive], § 7). From these vaguer attributions of ill-will to one's neighbours it is but a step to the conception of an evil magic independent of the will and intention of any person at all. Various more or less impersonal forms of evil—such as the *arungquiltha* of the Arunta (Spencer-Gillen<sup>2</sup>, London, 1899, p. 548 n.), the *otgon* of the Hurons (J. N. B. Hewitt, *Am. Anthropologist*, new ser., iv. [1902] 37 n.), or the *badis* of the Malays (W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 94)—are regarded as malignant and destructive agencies in their own right, very much as one thinks of the plague or the influenza. In short, there is always more or less of black magic 'in the air' for the panic-ridden savage. For this reason, and seeing also how much the healer of diseases and, again, the witch-finder do to foster the evil reputation of the magician by their highly-coloured accounts of the dreadful arts which it is their professional privilege to be able to counteract, one might almost be tempted to declare that the sorcerer is a mere bogey, the creation of abject fear wedded to ignorance and credulity. But this would be to go too far. There seems good evidence that in Australia men and even women, despite the fact that black magic practised within the group is normally held to be punishable by death, wreak their vengeance in this way on their private enemies. Roth's own black servant, a mere layman, actually dared to point the bone at a native doctor, the latter dying about a fortnight later (*N. Queensland Ethnography*, Bull. no. 5, p. 30). At most, then, it may be surmised that for every case of genuine guilt there are far more false accusations; and, in short, generally, in every witch-haunted society, whether it be native Australia or 17th cent. England, that the proofs of witchcraft mainly rest on an argument from effect to cause.

As for love-magic, it may not seem at first sight to have the anti-social character of the magic of hate; but, if closely observed, it will be found on the whole to minister to hardly less disreputable purposes. Thus among the Arunta of Central Australia such magic is chiefly resorted to in order to bring about a runaway match. It is true that, according to native ideas, it is merely a case of one tribal husband trying to entice the woman away from another tribal husband, so that, as Spencer and Gillen say, 'it is a breach of manners but not of custom' (<sup>2</sup>, p. 544). Even so, however, it would seem to be extremely liable to lead to a general fight within the group, or between one local group and another, so that its anti-social tendency is bound in the long run to become tolerably manifest.

So much for what are perhaps the clearest instances of types of ritual acts generated by

passions and desires which society is bound to try to suppress in the interest of its own self-preservation. Such rites can be placed in a more or less determinate class by themselves, whereas over against this class can be set in contrast another class of rites, entirely similar as regards the general nature of their mechanism, but embodying motives of a kind held to be socially salutary. Broadly speaking, all public rites have this common quality of being licit and reputable, since the fact that they are the recognized custom of the community is taken as a sufficient guarantee that they exist for the furtherance of the common weal. Thus the totemic ceremonies of the Central Australians, the object of which is the increase of the food-animals and plants, occupy exactly the same place in the life of the people as is filled by the rites of the Church in a Christian country. Hence E. Durkheim (*Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris, 1912) takes the totemic system of Australia as the typical instance of an elementary religion, whereas Frazer, adopting what has been termed the horizontal line of division between magic and religion, would assign these totemic rites wholesale to the age of magic. Indeed, no better instance could be cited to illustrate the incompatibility between the horizontal and the perpendicular methods of viewing magic and religion in their relation to each other. While, then, for the simpler societies at all events, public rites always rank as good and licit, does it follow that private rites as such will tend to be regarded as bad and illicit? According to Robertson Smith (*The Religion of the Semites*, London, 1894, p. 263 f.), it well-nigh amounts to this:

'It was the community, and not the individual, that was sure of the permanent and unfailing help of its deity. It was a national not a personal providence that was taught by ancient religion. So much was this the case that in purely personal concerns the ancients were very apt to turn, not to the recognised religion of the family or of the state, but to magical superstitions. . . . Not only did these magical superstitions lie outside religion, but in all well-ordered states they were regarded as illicit. A man had no right to enter into private relations with supernatural powers that might help him at the expense of the community to which he belonged. In his relations to the unseen he was bound always to think and act with and for the community, and not for himself alone.'

Granting, however, that in the small undifferentiated society private enterprise is suspect, we must recognize that, as the division of labour develops and the individual asserts himself more and more, the law is increasingly ready to sanction, or at least condone, the use of ritual forms for securing personal ends, such as the protection of property by tabu-marks having the force of conditional curses (see P. Huvelin, 'Magie et droit individuel,' in *ASoc* x. [1907] 1 f.; and cf. M. Mauss and M. H. Beuchat, *ib.* ix. [1906] 117, on the magico-religious significance of the Eskimo property-marks). For the rest, there will always be in every society a number of ceremonial practices to which a certain amount of magico-religious value attaches that fall most naturally under the category of folk-lore, having no place in the official cult, yet being too insignificant to call for much notice favourable or unfavourable, and, on the whole, tending to be despised rather than condemned. In short, for certain purposes of science it is best to treat all magico-religious rites as generically akin, even while making due allowance for their tendency to group themselves round the opposite pole of beneficence and maleficence, of social service and individual greed or spite. More especially is this so when the interest passes from intent to content, from motive to mechanism. Social and anti-social rites are hardly distinguishable in respect of their external forms at the stage of the most rudimentary culture. Thus the agents bear the closest resemblance to each other, the

sorcerer and priest often meeting in the person of the medicine-man. The rites are of the same general pattern, whether they be manual or oral. Lastly, the ideas that are bound up with the rites conform to a common type, now to that of *mana* and now to that of spirit (cf. Huvelin, *op. cit.* p. 2). After all, it is no wonder that differentiation should hardly have begun, seeing that, so long as society is represented by an aggregate of small groups living in a state of perpetual discord, what would be evil if practised on a friend becomes good the moment it is directed against the people just across the way. Or, again, society may halt as it were between two ethical opinions, with the result that ritual practices of contradictory intent may obtain something like equal toleration; the moral status of love-magic was especially ambiguous, so that, for instance, among the Kurnai tribe of Victoria, where marriage by elopement verges on the position of a recognized institution, 'while there were medicine-men who assisted those who wished to elope, there were other medicine-men who aided the pursuing kindred to discover them' (A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, London, 1904, p. 277). Once more the medicine-man in his capacity of tribal head-man may use his supernatural power to punish offenders against the laws of the group, such as the novice who behaves improperly at the initiation ceremonies, or the man who attacks another by means of evil magic; but he will likewise in his private capacity use his power against his enemies, and will even bring to bear on them the power of Daramulun, the great anthropomorphic god of the mysteries, the very embodiment of all that is most religious in the eyes of the tribe (Howitt, pp. 543, 382). Clearly, then, it is not to the simpler and more undifferentiated societies that we must look for an accurate evaluation of the purposes embodied in rites, leading sooner or later to their organization in rival systems that henceforth to some extent develop independently. Organization and system, however, are terms that perhaps are hardly applicable even to the later developments of black magic.

- It is religion that has all the organization to itself, because public approval affords it every chance of free expansion. Magic, on the other hand, as the enemy of organized cult and, indeed, of the social organization as a whole, must lurk in dark places, and grows not by internal systematization, but merely as does a rubbish-heap, by the casual accumulation of degraded and disintegrated rites of all kinds. At most it may affect a certain definiteness of form by imitating religious ritual in a spirit of blasphemous parody, as in the case of the 'black mass.' On the whole, however, it is utterly deficient on the side of theory, and consists simply in a congeries of practices which by perversion and distortion have lost most of the meaning that they once had. Only in this sense, then, do they rest on the principle of compulsion as opposed to conciliation, that, being mere rites, lacking the support of any consistent scheme of thought, they have to depend for their validity on the bare fact that they appear to work. Religion, on the other hand, though never wholly escaping the tendency to impute value and efficacy to its ritual as such, is free to develop an ethical conception of the godhead in which the action of mere power is gradually converted into that of a power that makes for righteousness, and is therefore to be moved and conciliated not by rites but by righteous conduct.

(b) *Magic as the rival of science.*—The view advanced by Frazer to the effect that the fundamental conception of magic is identical with that of modern science (*GB*<sup>2</sup>, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 220) will hardly bear close inspection. The

magician surely does not postulate 'that the same causes will always produce the same effects.' On the contrary, his art is based on the supposed possibility of miracle—on what might be termed super-causation as contrasted with normal causation. In other words, he seeks to help out ordinary action by means of an increment of power borrowed from a supra-sensible source. This is what Tylor means by characterizing magic as 'occult science.' It makes a fatal difference if, after the manner of Frazer, this qualification be omitted. Magic thus stands in far closer affinity with religion than with science, inasmuch as religion and magic equally consist in dealings with the supra-sensible and differ not as regards the means employed but simply as regards the ends pursued, since the one tries to bring blessings to pass by means of miracle, and the other to bring curses. On the other hand, at no known stage of his evolution does the existence of man consist in one continuous round of mystic practices. It is mainly at the crisis, periodic or occasional, in the social and individual life that the need to draw on unseen sources of support is felt. In the intervals the workaday world of actions, guided by the routine of sense-perception, stands in the foreground of attention; and this is the world in which science in the sense of natural science has always been at home. Chipping a flint so as to produce a cutting edge is nascent science, whereas bringing up a quartz-crystal mysteriously from one's inside is a magico-religious proceeding belonging to quite another order of experience. A considerable part at any rate of modern science has originated in technical processes of a directly utilitarian and 'lay' character. Thus European geometry would seem to be the outcome of the art of the 'cord-fasteners' who measured out the land in Egypt after each inundation of the Nile (cf. J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*<sup>3</sup>, London, 1908, p. 24). It cannot be denied, however, that, so long as their occult character be recognized, certain developments of the magico-religious way of thinking may be held to correspond to sciences or pseudo-sciences, inasmuch as they severally represent a body of organized lore intended on the whole for the furtherance of secular and purely technical ends. Of these the most characteristic types are faith-healing and divination (*qq.v.*). Faith-healing is in its most typical form a direct counterblast to sorcery, which is in essence a faith-hurting. White magic and black magic determine to a large extent each other's form, since the natural procedure of the healer is first to establish by his diagnosis what exactly the wicked magician has done, and then by dramatic reversal of the action to undo it. Indeed, as has already been suggested, witchcraft is in no small part a pure invention on the part of leechcraft. To bring about a faith-cure it is essential to show that what is wrong is something that will answer to the proposed method of putting it right; and what more plain than that medicine-man may checkmate medicine-man, diamond cut diamond? Meanwhile, the occult science of the faith-healer is not the only form of medical science known to the savage. On the contrary, it may be more or less sharply distinguished from the ordinary folk-medicine, towards which it stands in a certain attitude of rivalry.

Thus Roth, who, as a medical man, went very carefully into the various methods of dealing with disease that prevailed among the aborigines of North Queensland, shows that 'no "doctors" attend specially on the sick, the charge of all such being left to individual caprice, e.g., a woman looks after her husband, a mother after her child. Nor do they specially prescribe, the knowledge—where known to all—of the therapeutical value of any plant, of massage, etc., being common to the tribe' (*N. Queensland Ethn.*, Bull. 5, p. 29). It is only when the ordinary treatment fails that the aid of the medicine-man is called in (*ib.*).

Among the specifics in common use among the natives observed by him, Roth enumerates more than forty different plants, for some of which at least genuine remedial properties can be claimed. Again, ligatures, bleeding, massage, poultices and fomentations, dressings for cuts, the use of splints for fractures, and so on, are 'lay' methods of treatment which rest on a basis of what we too would be ready to recognize as 'science,' i.e. a more or less organized common sense. At the same time, the lay mind is likewise addicted to what the modern doctors would regard as pure superstition, such as reliance on charms, amulets, the sucking-string, etc. But at any rate the atmosphere of mystery with which the professional faith-healer surrounds the exercise of his craft is absent from these applications of communal lore to the ills of life. Further, the professional enters into competition with the layman in order to demonstrate how superior his wonder-working is to the humdrum procedure of the ordinary folk-medicine.

Thus Roth specially notes that 'among the Boula blacks, there are indications of a desire on the part of the medicine-men to claim a share in the cure, with a corresponding reward.' The common cure for snake-bite being a vapour-bath, which apparently answers very well, the medicine-man undertakes to help it out by operating on the snake. 'The doctor himself goes to the place where the accident happened, is shown where the snake lies hid, digs it out, and lets it glide away a few feet before commencing to pelt it with stones. During this process the snake gradually diminishes in size, and gradually becomes harmless, when it is carried back to camp, where the medicine-man, turning its skin half-way inside out while still alive, throws it into water, and so makes an end of it. It is needless to say that no layman is allowed to witness any part of this procedure' (ib. p. 42).

It only remains to add, in fairness to the medicine-man, that a reputation for magic in the sense of a more or less bad and anti-social kind of wonder-working is thrust upon him by the very fact that he is a professional and hence has the public against him, according to the principle that whatever is private in rude society is suspect. As Huvelin points out, so long as society remains undifferentiated, all custom rests on the common belief and wears a religious character, so that every manifestation of individuality is destitute of sanction, when it does not actually amount to a crime. Hence, when social organization begins to come into existence through the division of labour, individual activity is obliged to disguise itself under a cloak of religious forms, which gives the professional an ambiguous character, not only in the eyes of others, but even in his own eyes, since others suspect, while he himself is obscurely conscious, that powers and practices which originally came into being for the public service are being exploited for private ends (Huvelin, p. 46). Whether it be the professional doctor or the professional smith, his right to be a specialist has been purchased at the cost of seeming, and being, something of a humbug.

Passing to the subject of divination, we have an even clearer case of a pseudo-science, since, whereas faith-healing has been to a certain extent purged of its supernaturalism and incorporated into modern medicine, divination has no part or lot in the science of to-day, unless we detect its after-math in the accepted postulate that the goal of science is prediction. On the other hand, divination has in certain of its developments all the appearance of science so far as concerns the organization of its principles and the directly practical character of its aims. Thus Babylonian divination, the literature of which is particularly rich, reveals an amazing wealth of lore involving the most elaborate classifications of omens resting on a wide basis of genuine observation. It is also to be noticed that here the practice of the art depending on this body of would-be knowledge was thoroughly respectable,

being, in fact, a branch or department of the official religion (see DIVINATION [Assyro-Babylonian]). It is not, in fact, until it migrates into Europe that Babylonian astrology is differentiated from astronomy, and the opposition between the two becomes apparent. Again, at a lower stage of social evolution divination can fill the place of science in so far as it calls out the reasoning powers of the mind and supplies some sort of intellectual gymnastic. Thus H. A. Junod, a missionary, who gives an admirable account of the use of the divinatory bones among the Thonga of S. Africa, spent many hours with his native teachers trying to acquire the principles of this system of theirs which they call 'The Word,' and vaunt to be superior to the missionary's Bible:

'So I had an opportunity of reaching the depths of the Bantu mind, that mind which has perhaps invented nothing more elaborate and more magical than the divinatory system. Of course no sensible person would for a moment believe in the objective value of these practices. Astrallogomancy has no more real worth than Chelromancy, Necromancy, and all the other "manoeuvres." But I am obliged to confess that the Thonga system is far more clever than any other which I have met with, and that it admirably answers to the wants of the Natives, as it comprehends all the elements of their life, photographs them, so to speak, in such a way that indications and directions can be obtained for all possible cases' (*The Life of a South African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1913, ii. 494).

It remains to show how science in the modern sense has managed to shake itself free of its rivals, the pseudo-sciences. As far as relates to what has been called 'the European epoch of the human mind,' the mother of science is undoubtedly ancient Greece. There the human spirit shook itself free of the domination of the magico-religious, thanks to its interest in the things of this world.

'Between Homer and Herodotus, Greek Reason has come into the world. . . . Man has become the measure of all things; and things are worth observing and recording . . . according as they do, or do not, amplify human knowledge already acquired, or prompt or guide human attempts to classify and interpret them. In this high meaning of the word all Greek records are utilitarian, relative to an end in view: and this end is ever anthropocentric, it is nothing less, but it is also nothing more, than the Good Life, the Wellbeing of Mankind' (J. L. Myres, in *Anthropology and the Classics*, ed. Maquet, Oxford, 1908, p. 123).

There is no violent breaking with the old-world rituals and the associated beliefs; but colonization, trade, and the progress of the industrial arts beget a secular frame of mind which dismisses theological prejudices in so far as they conflict with technical improvements.

'All ailments are from God,' writes Hippocrates, 'no one of them being more divine than another, or more human either, but all alike from God. But each of such things has a process of growth, and nothing comes into being without a process of growth.' Wherefore he turns without more ado to the study of these physical causes (cf. Myres, *loc. cit.* p. 140).

Meanwhile, in philosophy, which at first understands by 'nature' something eminently supernatural in its potency for making wonders happen, there gradually develops a scientific tradition by the side of a mystic tradition, the former of which affirms the reality of the many things of the sense, world as against the reality of the one transcendent world-soul conceived by the latter (cf. F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy*, London, 1912, p. 144 f.). The former view culminates in the atomism of Democritus, which has prevailed in the sphere of physical science until recent times. Now this whole scientific movement is opposed in spirit to magic and religion alike. It contradicts the whole tenor of the magico-religious type of procedure whether by manual or by oral rites, and hence cannot be identified or equated, after the fashion of Frazer, with magic regarded as equivalent to the earliest phase of cult in general. Nor, again, has it any real affinity with black magic or any parallel development, save in so far as all technical processes undertaken by experts are at first more or less suspect as private exploitations, as has already been explained. Natural science

by association with the productive arts has taken into its hands the entire control of the mechanical and material sphere of human life, and within this sphere will brook no rival. In the moral sphere, on the other hand, it shows no signs of making headway against the claim of religion to be the supreme authority. Meanwhile, neither science nor religion can afford to tolerate the anti-social and immoral person, the man who tries to make a living out of the credulity and idle fears of weak humanity. In practice, however, both find it hard to distinguish between the delinquent and the innovator, so that the line between evil magic and charlatanism, on the one hand, and mere heterodoxy, on the other, tends to be even now of a somewhat fluctuating kind. As for black magic, it has almost disappeared from view in civilized society. As the folklorist knows, however, a permanent possibility of demoralizing superstition lurks in human nature, and only education in regard to both physical facts and moral truths can keep the monster down.

**LITERATURE.**—The subject has a vast literature, more especially seeing that, according to one definition of the term, magic covers all the ruder forms of cult. The following works are in various ways authoritative: E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, London, 1870, ch. vi., PC<sup>8</sup>, do. 1891, ch. iv., art. 'Magic,' in *EB<sup>9</sup>*; J. G. Fraser, *GB<sup>8</sup>*, pt. I, *The Magic Art*, do. 1911 (see also earlier edd.), *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, do. 1905; A. C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, 1st ser., do. 1890, p. 90 ff.; F. B. Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, do. 1896, 'The Definition of Magic,' *Sociological Review*, I [1908] 106 ff.; *Trans. of 3rd Internat. Cong. of Religions*, I (Oxford, 1908) 71 f., *Introduction to the Study of Comparative Rel.*, New York, 1908, p. 70 f.; R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, London, 1914, essay II.; L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, do. 1906, 1914, II.; A. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, do. 1901; A. C. Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, do. 1906; W. E. Roth, *North Queensland Ethnography*, Bull. no. 5, 'Superstition, Magic, and Medicine,' Brisbane, 1908; W. R. Halliday, 'The Force of Initiative in Magical Conflict,' in *FL* xxi. [1910] 147 ff.; E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, do. 1900; I. King, *The Development of Religion*, do. 1910; E. S. Ames, *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, do. 1910; J. H. Leuba, *A Psychological Study of Religion*, New York, 1912; H. Hubert and M. Mauss, 'Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' *ASoc* vii. [1904], *Mélanges d'histoire des religions*, Paris, 1909; P. Huvelin, 'Magie et droit individuel,' *ASoc* x. [1907]; H. Hubert, art. 'Magie,' in *Daremberg-Saglio*, vi.; A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909, p. 17 f.; K. T. Preuss, 'Der Ursprung der Religion und Kunst,' in *Globus*, lxxxvi. [1904]; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894; W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*, vol. II, pt. II, Leipzig, 1907; J. Ennemoser, *Geschichte der Magie*, Munich, 1844; A. Lehmann, *Aberglaube und Zauberei*, Stuttgart, 1908.

R. R. MARETT.

**MAGIC (Arabian and Muslim).**—The word used in Arabic for this notion is *sihr*, connected with the verb meaning 'to produce illusion' on the eyes (*Qur'an*, vii. 113); it seems, therefore, to be in origin the causative of the verb *hāra*, 'to be bewildered,' and is explained by the verb 'to frighten' (*istarhaba*), whence the whole phrase resembles *μαγεύω καὶ ἐκτράνω* in Ac 8<sup>9</sup>. It is probable that the Hebrew *shahar*, used twice by Isaiah for 'conjure away,' is identical, and the Armenian *skhroumn*, 'marvel,' may be borrowed from this word. The passage in the *Qur'an* which contains most information on the subject is ii. 96, where it is stated that the *sihr* was revealed to the two angels in Babel, Hārūt and Mārūt, who taught it to mankind, without concealing the fact that they were tempting them; the *sihr* showed how to separate a man from his wife, i.e. was the contrary of a love-philtre. Isaiah (47<sup>11</sup>) connects the *shahar* with Babylon, which, according to classical writers also, was the headquarters of magic:

'Tunc Babylon Persae licet, secretaque Memphis  
Omne vetustorum solvat penetrabile Magorum'  
(Lucan, *Pharsalia*, vi. 449 f.).

Hārūt and Mārūt seem from their names to be Aramaic personifications of mischief and rebellion, with which their recorded operation corresponds.

In the *Qur'an*, as might be expected, it is not

clear whether the results of *sihr* are always subjective only or may be objective; and some commentators think both possible. When, therefore, a miracle is branded as *sihr*, it may be regarded either as an optical illusion or as an illicit process due to the employment of demons; it is true that Solomon employed them (according to the *Qur'an*), but this may have been a prophetic privilege. And a theological difficulty arises from the statement that *sihr* was revealed to two angels, as what is revealed ought not to be evil. The orthodox view is that magic can be objective; but some Mu'tazilite doctors and some members of the Shāfi'ite and Hanafite schools took the other view; and even those who believed that it was objective thought that it could affect accidents only, and could not transmute substances.

The practice was forbidden, and, indeed, under penalty of death; Malik held that one convicted of sorcery should not even be given the option of repentance, whereas Shāfi' confined the death-sentence to the case where examination of the accused proved him to be guilty of unbelief (*Qasṭalānī, Commentary on the Mawāhib Laduniyyah*, Cairo, 1278, vii. 116). Acquisition of the theory was, however, permissible, and, according to some, a duty incumbent on certain members of the community, as protection against those who practised the art.

The recognition by Islām of the existence of *jinn* furnished a basis for the belief in magic, to which, however, the attitude of the educated and of serious writers is about the same in most countries; it is not ordinarily recognized as an agent in the course of events, yet may well be admitted into tales of wonder and delight, whereas the superstitious may resort to it for a variety of needs.

It figures on one occasion in the biography of the Prophet, when an illness was brought upon him by a Jew named Labid ben al-A'sam; according to one account, the latter obtained possession of some hair left on the Prophet's comb, which he hid with some other objects in a well; according to others, the object hidden was a string with a number of knots upon it. The latter version is doubtless suggested by the penultimate *sūra* of the *Qur'an*, which is a spell against eclipses and women who breathe or spit on knots. The practices against which these spells are directed are similar to, if not identical with, those which are enumerated by classical writers (e.g., Lucan, vi. 480 ff.). Others, of which the *Arabian Nights* offers ample illustration, also have analogies in the literature of classical antiquity; the transformation of men into animals by a witch's potion is found as early as the *Odyssey*. In Arabic there is a special word for this process, *maskh*.

Hāji Khalifah (*Lexicon bibliograph. et encyclopæd.*, ed. G. Flügel, London, 1835-58, iii. 584) classifies the various magical methods as follows:

The Indian consists in purification of the soul; the Nabatean in the employment of spells at suitable times; the Greek in compelling the service of the spirits of the spheres and the stars; that of the Hebrews, Copts, and Arabs in mentioning names of unknown meaning—this method being a variety of that by incantation, those who employ it professing thereby to pass into their service the angels who have power over the *jinn*. This last expression recalls Lucan's

'habent hæc carmina certum  
Imperiosa deum, qui mundum cogere, quicquid  
Cogitur ipse potest' (vi. 497 ff.).

The classification cannot be maintained, though it is possible that the tendency in the case of the different nations corresponded roughly with the methods assigned; thus doubtless the theory that ascetic practice won command over the gods was carried to greater lengths by the Indians than elsewhere, whereas the theory of mysterious words may be particularly Jewish, and the Hermetic

magic specially astrological; ordinarily, however, all these ideas are confused or combined.

The difference emphasized by Lucan between authorized and unauthorized occultism ('si quid taciturnum, sed fas erat' and 'detestanda deis saevorum arcana magorum') was fully recognized in the Islāmic State, which had its official astrologers while it condemned the black art. Since, however, what was required from the former was prediction of the future, the distinction could not be maintained with the desirable clearness.

Tabari records (*History*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1879-1901, III. 1463) how the highly respected astrologer, 'Alī ben Yaḥyā, in the year 247, was reading out to the khalīf a book of predictions (*malāḥim*), when he came across the statement that the tenth khalīf would be slain in his own reception-room; he had to alter the text in consequence. Much the same is recorded by him in the case of an unauthorized lad, who possessed 'the Book of the Empire' (*Kutāb al-dawāḥ*), where there was a prophecy that the khalīf Maḥdī would last ten years. Since such a prophecy would mean certain death to any one who was discovered to be in possession of it, the word 'forty' was substituted for 'ten' in the book, and with such skill that no one could detect the interpolation (III. 497). In the year 284 (Tabari, III. 5179) an unknown person haunted the palace of the khalīf Mu'taḍid, who summoned 'the lunatics and the conjurers' to detect him; the conjurers were to get control of the demon in possession of one of the lunatics, who would then give the necessary information. The behaviour of the lunatics, however, so much alarmed the khalīf that he dismissed them all with gratuities before anything could be done.

Similarly, there is a distinction between the normal or legitimate spell and that which would be condemned by the orthodox, though here, too, clearness is wanting. The child's amulet called *tamimah* is regarded as normal. About the magical employment of Qur'ānic verses there seem to be differences of opinion. The historian Sakhāwī (*Tibr Masbūk*, Cairo, 1896, p. 218) records a controversy about the *ḥafizāt* *Ramādān*, certain verses which, if written on the last Friday in Ramādān, will secure the house which contains them from burning and the ship whereon they are inscribed from being wrecked; the historian's teacher wished for government interference with their inscription, but the practice was too widely spread to admit of this. In the *Maqāmāt* of Hariri the impostor succeeds with the spells which he composes; in one case the magic lies in the eloquence of the composition, whereas in the other (for facilitating childbirth) the work is really done by a drug with which he happens to be acquainted.

In the *Arabian Nights* the magician is frequently a Moor (*Maghribī*), and the association of magic with those regions is not extinct; the most elaborate treatise which we possess on Islāmic magic is E. Doutté's *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Algiers, 1909). Women and negroes also play a considerable rôle. In the tradition the art has a tendency to be connected with Israelites, as we have seen in the case of the Prophet.

According to Mas'ūdī (*Murūj al-dhahab*, ed. and tr. B. de Meynard and P. de Courteille, Paris, 1861-77, IV. 266), one of the complaints against Uthmān, the third khalīf, was that he had shown insufficient firmness in dealing with the case of a Jew, named Batruni, who had performed some marvellous exploits in the mosque of Kūfa; 'he caused a mighty king mounted on a horse to ride in the court, he then turned himself into a camel, then produced a phantom ass, which passed through him, then he beheaded a man, and by another stroke with his sword put him together again'; a pious spectator beheaded the Jew, who probably was a conjurer, and performed some feats which the narrators have exaggerated.

Written spells which are brought to Europe from Islāmic countries are often in Hebrew or contain Hebrew words.

The limits which separate the practices condemned by the Prophet from those which he approved are again very narrow; thus in the authoritative collection of traditions by Muslim (Cairo, 1290, II. 180-183) evidence is adduced to show that Muhammad sanctioned the employment of spells or magical prayers for treatment of the evil eye, snake-poison, and disease generally; the

expert who employed the Qur'ānic texts for this purpose might even charge a fee, out of which the Prophet would accept a royalty. The word *ruḡyah* is employed for charms of this kind, and in the case of snakes it would seem, from a story told by Jāḥiẓ (*Zoology*, Cairo, 1906, IV. 134), that their effectiveness depended on the loudness of the charmer's voice.

The name for collections of oracles is, as has been seen, *Malāḥim*, and this word is applied to those prophetic works wherein the future is regularly read (e.g., the Book of Daniel), as well as to less authoritative books. Others were of the sort known as *Consulting-books*, i.e. tables whence the future could be divined by certain modes of combining the words, letters, or figures which make them up. It is likely that the primitive practices which constitute the magicians' chief stock-in-trade, and are common to many countries, are handed on by oral tradition, and to be learned only from the persons who perform them or from travellers who have made careful observations (e.g., E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London, 1895).

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article. Cf., further, DIVINATION (Muslim), CHARMS AND AMULETS (Muhammadan).  
D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

MAGIC (Babylonian).—For the purpose of this article we may regard the term 'magic' as connoting practices which have their origin in the belief that man is able by their exercise to control the unseen powers and force them to act in accordance with his own will. Without attempting to discuss the vexed question of the relationship of magic to religion (see 'Introductory' section above), we may say that this generally accepted use of the term has great advantages for the classification of material. And it corresponds, moreover, to a distinct contrast in attitude towards the supernatural. Magic may be said to be present wherever power over the unseen is believed to be inherent in the ritual, whereas, according to the religious concept, the seat of power is regarded as resting outside the sphere of man's deliberate control. When the term is used in this sense, it must be admitted that a great body of the religious beliefs and practices of the Babylonians and Assyrians should be more accurately described as falling under the category of magic.

It is true that, when reading some of the Babylonian religious compositions, one is struck by the resemblance which many of the phrases bear to ethical passages in the Hebrew Psalms and prophetic writings. Quoted apart from their context, such passages suggest an extraordinarily high standard of morality and great depth of feeling. But it is dangerous to judge any literature merely by extracts or anthologies; and, when studied in their own surroundings, they are at once seen to have a background that is largely magical rather than moral. To take a single example, the Babylonian penitential psalms and many of the prayers to the gods show that the Babylonians had a very keen sense of sin. The contrition and misery of the penitent are expressed with great beauty of metaphor; but it is essential to examine the precise meaning of the words employed, and not to read extraneous associations into them. In this connexion it is important to realize that the moral character of sin which we find emphasized in the Hebrew prophets is quite foreign to the Babylonian conception. In almost the whole of their religious literature the expressions 'sin', 'sickness', and 'possession by evil spirits' are employed as pure synonyms; they denote merely an evil state of the body. In fact, all sickness and disease were believed to be due to the attacks of evil spirits, under



whose power or influence the sufferer had fallen, whether by his own act or through the machinations of a hostile sorcerer or sorceress. Such spirits and powers of evil were legion, and were ever on the look-out to inflict bodily harm on men. They might be ghosts of the dead, or gruesome spirits half-human and half-demon, or, lastly, fiends and devils of a nature corresponding to, but lower than, that of the gods.

The sole object of the magical texts was to enable the priests to control and exorcise these demons, or to break in some way the malign influence which they exerted upon their victim. And, in order to be successful, it was of the utmost importance that the spirit or evil influence which affected the sick man should be mentioned by name. To this end the magician repeated long lists of ghosts and devils, any one of which might be the cause of the sickness. Thanks to this practice, we know a great deal about the Babylonian demons and their characteristics. In order to illustrate the manner of their attack, and how dissociated this was from any moral offence on their victim's part, it will suffice to refer briefly to one class of spirits, the ghosts of the dead. These spirits were the ghosts of dead people which, for some reason or other, could not find rest, but wandered as spectres over the earth. After death the spirits of men and women who died in the ordinary course of nature and were buried were believed to enter the under world, where they eked out a miserable existence with the help of offerings and libations paid to them by their descendants and relatives upon earth. But, if the offerings were not made, or if the corpse was left unburied, the spirit might wander unsatisfied. Other ghosts were the spirits of those who died violent or unnatural deaths, or who departed this life before completing certain natural functions—such as the ghosts of women who died in childbed. As a rule, such spirits haunted ruins or desolate places, and, if a man wandered there, they might seize on him and plague him. A spirit of this sort could also fasten himself on any one who had been in any way connected with him in this life, by the sharing of food with him or by the mere act of eating, drinking, or dressing in his company. From these instances it will be seen that a man was liable, through no fault of his own, to supernatural attack, and precisely similar results were believed to follow both ceremonial and moral offences. To touch the chair or bed of a person already affected by such evil influence or ban was, according to the texts, quite as dangerous as committing a moral offence, such as theft, adultery, or murder, and the resulting condition of sickness or misfortune was the same.

In order to escape the ban and cure his sickness or misfortune, the sufferer had recourse to the magician, who, by his knowledge of magical words, prayers, and ritual, could invoke the help of the great gods, and so gain control over the demon itself, or, in cases induced by human intervention, over the hostile sorcerer or sorceress who had cast the spell. In a large class of texts prepared for the use of the magician their purely magical character is sufficiently apparent from their contents. In others, where the contents refer more to the condition of the sufferer than to the possible causes of his misfortune or the means to relieve it, the essentially magical character of the compositions may sometimes be detected in notes or 'rubrics' which give directions for their due recital and for the performance of accompanying rites and ceremonies. For the rites prescribed often have an intimate connexion with the subject-matter of the prayer or incantation. Sometimes the offerings and the accompanying rites have, to

our eyes, only a vague relationship to the character of the god or goddess addressed. But in other compositions the media employed for the magic are specifically named in the recitative, or liturgical, portion of the text. In fact, a study of the rubrics makes it clear that many present a certain general resemblance in giving directions for the recital of the main text over something which is mentioned in the accompanying formulae. The relationship between text and ritual may be illustrated by the following group of rubrics from the Eighth Tablet of the *Mašīš* series, col. iii. lines 8–22, which give directions for the due recital of incantations on the Sixth Tablet of the series and the performance of accompanying rites.

(a) The incantation (beginning): "Thou art good, who in a pure place art born!" over a good offering shalt thou recite, and upon the fumigation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shalt thou place it.

(b) The incantation (beginning): "Come my sorceress or my enchantress!" over a *mulukku*-plant shalt thou recite, and upon the fumigation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shalt thou place it; (and) with an upper-garment shalt thou envelop the bed.

(c) The incantation (beginning): "Come my sorcerer or my enchantress!" over twelve pieces of *aka'uru*-wood shalt thou recite, and upon the fumigation-bowl, which is at the head of the bed, shalt thou place them.

(d) The incantation (beginning): "Come my sorceress, my witch, whose paths are over all the world!" over two caged locusts shalt thou recite, and to the right of the door and to the left of the door of the enchanted man shalt thou set them.

(e) The incantation (beginning): "Come my sorceress, my witch!" over a stone from the mountain shalt thou recite, and in the court (of the house) shalt thou lay it.

(f) The objects for ceremonial burning (*hutu*), which belong to the incantation (beginning): "Ehli my head," all that are described as potent against bans, shalt thou heap together and make to go up in smoke. The incantation (beginning): "Ehli my head," shalt thou recite.

The connexion between these rites and the corresponding sections of the liturgical, or recitative, portions of the composition is clear. For example, the incantation referred to in section (b) corresponds to *Mašīš* vi. 102–109, which twice refers to the *mulukku*-plant (cf. 103 f.); that in (c) corresponds to *Mašīš* vi. 110–117, and the *aka'uru*-wood is referred to in line 115 of the text, which should read: "At the head of my bed will I place twelve pieces of *aka'uru*-wood"; that in (d) is *Mašīš* vi. 118–123, and the two locusts are symbolical of the two 'gods of the watch' who will slay the sorceress (cf. 123 f.).

This rite of the locusts, which may be regarded as typical of a great body of Babylonian ritual, will be seen, when examined, to be an obvious example of sympathetic magic. The locusts were set, one on each side of the sick man's door, to represent Lugal-girra and Meslamtaea, who, as 'gods of the watch,' would be ready to pounce upon the sorceress and slay her. The magic would work and the gods would act at the second recital of the incantation.

In many of the rites and ceremonies the use of fire was essential, and it would seem that, after the recital of the correct formulae, the destruction of the objects collected by the magician for that purpose synchronized with the destruction or removal of the evil influence under which the patient suffered. The rites sometimes required substances of some value or rarity, such as fragments of gold or precious stones; and it is probable that, except for powerful or wealthy clients, the magician would make the same fragments do again and again. But the objects used by the magician also included plants, pieces of wood, various sorts of seeds, vegetables, dates, palm-spates, sheep-skin, wool, etc.—all perishable substances which could easily be consumed. And in their case the sympathetic connexion between the destruction of the ban and that of the object is obvious. That this is the correct explanation of this whole class of ritual is clear from a singularly instructive sub-section, in which the employment of images is prescribed in place of unfashioned natural objects or substances. The images were to be fashioned in human form, to represent the hostile sorcerer or sorceress, and the destruction of these by fire, to

the recital of the correct formulae, was obviously believed to synchronize with the destruction of the hostile person whose figure had been imitated. These images could be made of wax, honey, bitumen, sesame-seed, and the like—all perishable and common substances. When metal was employed, we may assume that the mere passing through the fire was sufficient for the purposes of the magic. Evidence of the great part played by fire in Babylonian magic may be seen in the titles of the two chief magical works, *Shurpu* and *Mašīd*, both of which signify 'burning,' and in the great number of prayers and incantations addressed to the fire-god.

In one particularly interesting class of magical rites the relationship which was constituted by the magician between the hostile influence and the object destroyed may be clearly traced. Here the magician is engaged in exorcizing a demon from his patient, and, having gained control by the necessary formulae, he transfers him to some object which may be destroyed or rendered harmless. In one such case the medium is a pot of water, which is then broken and the water spilt; in another a clay image is fastened to the patient's body and afterwards removed; or the body of a pig might be spread upon the sick man, and afterwards thrown out of the house. In these cases we have a physical transference of the hostile power from the sick man to the object employed. In other rites, such as the knotting of cords, the weaving and unweaving of coloured threads, and the like, it is not clear how far the physical action was believed to exercise a direct influence. It is possible that we should explain such rites on the principle of imitation, which is the basis of sympathetic magic.

But it must be confessed that with regard to a considerable section of the ritual we are still not in a position to follow the underlying trains of thought. The large class of so-called medical prescriptions were, no doubt, essentially magical, and, although in some instances the substances prescribed may have actually had curative effects, the associations which led to their employment by the Babylonians are still obscure.

Most of our knowledge of Babylonian magic is derived from purely textual sources, for we have recovered but few amulets, in which we may be said to deal with magic in a concrete form. It is true that we possess a few plague-tablets, inscribed with a text relating to the plague-god, and intended to be hung up in houses to keep off the plague; we have also recovered the figures and heads of demons, sometimes inscribed with incantations; and these, too, were doubtless employed in propitiation or defence. But the only magical apparatus, in the strict sense of the term, that has come down to us may be seen in certain rectangular plaques of cast metal, moulded on the face with the figure of a sick man lying on a couch, attended by the magicians or exorcizers, and surrounded by various hostile demons and protecting spirits or their emblems, which are arranged in horizontal registers. On the back is the large figure of a demon in relief, with his head usually protruding above the top of the plaque. From the subject of the reliefs it is clear that the plaques are to be classified under the general heading of sympathetic magic, but the precise manner in which they were employed by the magician in cases of sickness is not certain. Another class of objects, consisting of little clay figures of deities or birds, which were buried below the pavement in the main doorways of a temple or a palace, may be treated as magical in their supposed effects, but they fall rather under the special heading of foundation-deposits. It may be added that the magical beliefs and practices of the Babylonians survived their racial disappearance,

and, largely through Jewish, Syriac, and Mandaic channels, contributed in no small degree to the great and composite body of mediæval magic.

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L. W. KING.

**MAGIC (Buddhist).**—If we rightly understand the real character of Buddhism, what Buddhism ought to be according to its cardinal tenets, there is no possible connexion between Buddhism and magic. The only aim of the Buddhist monk is 'nirvāṇa to be attained in this life,' i.e. absolute freedom from passion in order to reach freedom from rebirth, i.e. eternal, blissful nirvāṇa. All the machinery of intellectual and moral life is organized with a view to this. Buddhism does not deny that there are good (*kusala*) acts that ripen into happiness in a future life (*svarga*, 'paradise'),<sup>1</sup> but monks consider them not only as of no avail for, but even as obstacles to, nirvāṇa. Ascetic and religious acts (*śīlavrata*, *tapas*, *pāṇā*) have no place in the training for nirvāṇa, and it is a very grave and delusive heresy to lay stress upon them. *A fortiori*, in contrast with Vedism and Brāhmanism, Buddhism ignores all the magical theories connected with sacrifice, worship, or asceticism as a means of salvation. As far as every-day or trivial magic is concerned, its efficiency is acknowledged, but Buddhists are strictly forbidden to practise it; all kinds of magical arts and performances—even of a benevolent nature—are regarded as pernicious.<sup>2</sup>

But 'historic Buddhism' is not, in every respect, what Buddhism ought to be. Buddhists are Hindus, 'regular' Hindus; and no large religious body has ever been found that was always scrupulously faithful to the true spirit of its creed, the more so as the Buddhist creed implies a superhuman disinterestedness and a non-Oriental disregard for any kind of superstition.

i. *Riddhi*.—There is a large category of 'super-human' activities, which to some extent would be understood by Europeans as magical, and which are 'very good Buddhism.' We mean *riddhi* (Pāli *iddhi*)—in the words of Rhys Davids, 'mystic wonder,' 'wondrous gift,' 'magic power,' a mastery (*prabhāva*), which is only the exercise of a power acquired by pious works, by penance, and also by 'formulae,' and especially by contemplation.

There is nothing 'preternatural' in the *riddhi*, and the natural character of the 'miracles' performed by *riddhi* is clearly shown in the following passage of the *Mūlinda-pariṣad*: "There are persons who can go with this four-element-made body to

<sup>1</sup> These are 'mundane' (*lokiya*) good acts, in contrast with 'supramundane' (*lokottara*), those which lead to nirvāṇa, i.e. the volitions concerned with 'trances' (*dhyāna*) and other 'concentrations' (*samādhi*).

<sup>2</sup> On the position of the Buddha with regard to magic see T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I (BBB II., London, 1899) 273.



Uttara-kuru (see art. *BLESSED, ANOBS OF THE* (Buddhist)), or to the Brahma world . . . "But how can they?" "Do you admit having ever jumped three or six feet of ground?" "Yes, I do; I can jump twelve feet." "But how?" "I cause this idea to arise: 'There will I alight!' With the genesis of this idea, my body becomes buoyant to me." "Just so does a monk, who has *iddhi* and mastery over his thought, travel through the air."<sup>1</sup>

The man whose thought is concentrated has indeed a great power over his body; but this power is not different, in nature, from the power of an ordinary man.

Birds are, by nature, endowed with magic power, as is proved by the fact that they go through the air. Their *iddhi* is 'born from the ripening of acts,' i.e., the special character of some of their acts in a former birth endows them with this special 'super-human' faculty. Gods are, of course, magicians; they go through the air, they create at their will palaces and pleasures (*bhoga*). Sovereign kings or world-emperors (*chakravartin* [q.v.]), too, are magicians by nature. Ordinary men obtain momentary magic power by many devices, and are 'super-human' at some time and for some object.<sup>2</sup>

As a matter of fact, Buddha was looked upon by his followers—as he was by the unbelievers—as a great magician; and it is recognized by all Buddhists that magic power is one of the natural possessions of the saints, since they are holy men, just like the *yogis* of old and the modern *fajirs*. Magic power ranks therefore with the divine eye, the divine ear, the knowledge of the thought of others, the knowledge of former births, the knowledge of the disappearing of passions, i.e. with the most desirable gifts of saintship. And it is no mean eulogy of Maudgalyāyana that he is styled 'the best of the Buddha's disciples with regard to magic.'

It is evident that the admission of the reality of *iddhi* is beset with many dangers. Buddhists were, accordingly, strictly forbidden to boast of possessing superhuman faculties; that was one of the gravest sins.

There is nothing specially Buddhist in the manifestations of *iddhi*. Buddha's disciples win success in the phantasmagorical shows which have long been familiar to Hindu romancers and dreamers:

'Being one, he becomes many, or having become many, becomes one again; he becomes invisible or visible; he goes, feeling no obstruction, to the other side of a wall or rampart or hill, as if through air; he penetrates up and down through solid ground, as if through air; he walks on water . . . he travels cross-legged in the sky; even the sun and the moon, so mighty though they be, does he touch and feel with his hand; he reaches in the body even up to the heaven of Brahmā. . . .'<sup>3</sup>

Stories of miraculous exhibitions intended to convert the incredulous are frequent. Buddha and his disciples willingly condescend to give 'signs.'

When the Tibetan writer Tāranātha narrates the medieval miraculous tournaments between the Buddhist and Brāhmanist scholars, which often conclude with the Buddhist victory and the conversion of kings, he only testifies the continuance of an old tradition. But—and this restriction is of paramount import—even when narrating miracles, the old texts add that miracles, by themselves, prove nothing; the unbelievers, conquered by the more powerful magic of Buddha, used to say: 'Gautama—the 'mundane' name of the Buddha, and the one used by unbelievers—'Gautama is the magician (*māyātrī*); every thousandth year there appears in the world a great magician who eats or enjoys the world' (*Abhidharmakośa*); or, in the words of the *Kevalārasutta*: 'Well, Sir! there is a certain charm called the *gandhāra*-charm. It is by the efficacy thereof that he performs all this.'<sup>4</sup>

There is in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, a text-book of the Vijñānavādins (by Asaṅga, 4th-5th cent. A.D.),

<sup>1</sup> O. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1914, p. 161; see also pp. 127, 190, 199; *SBE* xxxv. [1900] 129 f. Magic power (*iddhi*) is sometimes only a momentary possession; of the story of a disciple who, when crossing a river, concentrates his mind, and, accordingly, walks on water; but, being distracted, he sinks (*Jātaka* 190).

<sup>2</sup> On the ten kinds of *iddhi* see *Paṭisambhiddamagga* (London, 1907), II. 205. The *iddhi* 'born from spells' or 'made of spells' (*vijñāmagga*) is the worst.

<sup>3</sup> See 'Sāmaññaphala-sutta,' *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. 88, and *Mahāvīyuttipatti*, § 14 f. (*Bibl. Buddhica*, xiii, Petrograd, 1911).

<sup>4</sup> *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. 278.

a complete survey of the magical power of the *bodhisattvas*. It is said to be twofold: *pārināmiki riddhi*, power of transformation, when a *bodhisattva* modifies the nature of an existing thing; and *nāirmāṇiki*, power of creation, when he creates some thing or some person. The 'created persons' (*nirmita*, *nirmitaka*) are frequently mentioned in the Mahāyāna works; but they are not unknown in the Hinayāna, both Pāli and Sanskrit. Elaborate theories on the *nirmitakas* are to be found in the *Abhidharma* treatises of the Sarvāstivādins (*Lokaprajñāpti*, 1st cent. A.D.), which embody the views of the Sanskrit Hinayāna; and in the *Abhidharmakośa* (ch. vi.), where the creative power of Buddha and of the gods (*nirmāṇarati*, etc.) is discussed.<sup>1</sup>

2. *Paritta*.—Another very orthodox form of magic is *paritta*, or *rakkhā*, 'guard,' 'safeguard.' It plays an important part in Sinhalese Buddhism under the name of *pirit* (Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1880, p. 240, *Manual of Buddhism*, do. 1880, p. 47; D. J. Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, ed. A. S. Bishop, Colombo, 1908, pp. 327-393). Good examples are found in Pāli literature.

Taking refuge in the three 'jewels' (*ratna*, *ratana*), Buddha, the *Dharma*, and the *Saṅgha*, forms a charm called '*sutta* of the jewels,' which is very efficacious against illness:

'Whatever spirits have come together here, either belonging to the earth or living in the air, let all spirits be happy, and then listen attentively to what is said. Therefore, O spirits, do ye all pay attention, show kindness to the human race who both day and night bring their offerings; therefore protect them strenuously. Whatever wealth there be here or in the other world, or whatever excellent jewel in the heavens, it is certainly not equal to Tathāgata. . . . By this truth may there be salvation.' In the same way: 'Nothing is equal to the *Dharma*, to the *Saṅgha*!'<sup>2</sup>

So also, in the Peacock *Jātaka*, sun-worship ('the only king, the one who beholds, the light of the world') is connected with that of the Buddhas: 'I worship thee, golden and luminous being! May I spend this day under thy care! Homage to the omniscient sages! May they protect me! Homage to the Buddhas and to the illumination, to the delivered and to the deliverance! . . .'

When Sākyamuni was a large golden peacock, he recited this half-solar, half-Buddhist prayer morning and evening, and consequently avoided all dangers. And, as the peacock is the born enemy of serpents, the '*sutta* (or 'charm') of the peacock' is used as a preventive and as a cure for serpent-bites.<sup>3</sup>

In these examples the magical character is not very prominent: there is nothing pagan in the formulae, which are, above all, acts of Buddhist faith; there is nothing mechanical, nothing really magical, in the efficacy ascribed to the *pirit*. The non-Buddhist gods are clearly subordinated to the Buddha: it is almost a dogma that the Buddha converted gods and demons;<sup>4</sup> and it is quite reasonable to believe that they will grant their favour to the disciples of Buddha. It is believed also that benevolence (*maitrī*) possesses a power in itself (*maitrībala*), which is capable of protecting the benevolent person against all the attacks of the wicked; in order to avoid serpent-bites, it is not a bad plan to sleep on a raised bed, but the right method is to declare to all the tribes of serpents that they are being enveloped in a universal sentiment of benevolence.<sup>5</sup> This magic of bene-

<sup>1</sup> A summary of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* has been published by O. Bendall and the present writer in *Musson*, vi. [1906] 38-52, vii. [1906] 213-230. A summary of the *Lokaprajñāpti* is being published as an Appendix in *Osismologie bouddhique, troisième chapitre de l'Abhidharmakośa*, London, 1915.

<sup>2</sup> *Ratana-sutta* (*Sutta-Nipāta*, II. 1); Rhys Davids, *SBE* xxxv. 213; art. *Jawari* (Buddhist), § 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Korajātaka, Jātaka*, ed. V. Fausbøll, London, 1877-97, II. 23.

<sup>4</sup> It is a dogma for the Sarvāstivādins (see A. Conze and L. Feer, 'Analyse du Kandjour,' *AMG* II. [1881] 167). The Pāli sources admit that there are still wicked gods (*Digha*, xxxii.).

<sup>5</sup> See *Chullavagga*, vi. 2. 2, and v. 6. 1 (*SBE* xx. [1886] 166 f., 751.).

violence is the most noteworthy invention of Buddhism in connexion with the subject which we are discussing.

3. Hindu influences.—All practices tainted with magic or superstition, from the most trivial to the most serious, are strictly forbidden: astrology, divination, charms, incantations—in a word, all that any one may accomplish with the help of certain secret recipes and a technical method. Holy men, in ancient as in modern India, priests or sorcerers, had only too much opportunity for making huge profits by giving horoscopes and practising white or black magic. The Buddha—the first Order—was anxious that the monks should be sheltered from this temptation, and drew up a long list of 'wrong means of livelihood,' of low arts, that were strictly prohibited. The Brāhmans also made an effort to distinguish themselves from sorcerers.

Among these 'low arts' we may mention specially:

'Arranging a lucky day for marriages; using charms to make people lucky or unlucky, to procure abortion, to bring on dumbness, deafness, to keep a man's jaw fixed; obtaining oracular answers by means of the magic mirror, or through a girl possessed; bringing forth flames from one's mouth; causing virility; making a man impotent; invoking Śrī (Śrī), the goddess of luck; worship of sun,' etc.<sup>1</sup>

Whatever precautions the Order took to avoid all paganism and superstition, there is, nevertheless, a Buddhist magic. It was impossible to guard against Hindu infiltrations. At no time could people have been completely ignorant of the sun or the inferior deities; a day came when the infiltrations became 'streams,' when paganism—gods, rites, theurgies—under a thin Buddhist veneer, took its place in sacred literature. Of course, we find popular magic always condemned in principle (love-rites, elixir of life, etc.). What is more serious, official worship and mysticism are permeated with Hindu elements, heavily laden with magic; this is, properly speaking, what is called Tantrism (q.v.).

Among the earliest of these infiltrations we may mention: (1) in some very orthodox books of the Mahāyāna, the great value attached to the sacred texts, to the *sūtras*, the mere reading of which effaces sin; (2) the great value attached to sacred names (e.g., the name of Amitābha); devotion turns to superstition pure and simple; (3) the name replaced or strengthened by mystic formulæ (see *ĀVALOKITEŚVARA*), represented, when carried to an extreme, by the Tibetan 'prayer-wheel'; it has been noticed that, in the *Lotus of the True Law* (q.v.), in which there is no mention of a female deity, the formulas are made from feminine vocatives: these invocations or litanies are undoubtedly borrowed from rituals; (4) the coming of a day when the rituals received the consecration of literature, and were put at the service of the great work of identifying the faithful with the Buddhas (Tantrism).

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L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

MAGIC (Celtic).—1. Wielders of magic.—Magical rites resembling those used by other races abound in Celtic paganism. They were performed by the gods, the Tuatha Dé Danann being later regarded as supernal wizards, by kings (a reminiscence, perhaps, of the origin of the kingship in the magic-wielding class), and by all members of society, but, above all, by the druids as the official magical class. There is evidence that they had ousted women as the earlier magic-wielding persons. The rites of agriculture and the possession

<sup>1</sup> See Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, I. 23 f.—a collection of interesting documents on the ancient life of India.

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of much primitive lore having been first of all in the hands of women, and these rites being largely magical, they were *par excellence* magicians. With the gradual encroachment of man on woman's domain, with the growing supremacy of gods over goddesses, men became also greater magicians. But women still professed magic, and their claims were never forgotten. The so-called 'druidesses' of the later empire, the priestesses of Sena, and the virgin guardians of Brigit's fire were magic-wielders. The 'spells of women' were feared even by St. Patrick, as they had been in earlier times by Connla's father,<sup>1</sup> and in the Irish texts women as magicians, performing all magical rites ascribed to druids, are much in evidence. But their magic was, so to speak, non-official; hence, when the druids were overthrown, they still retained their powers, and much mediæval witchcraft is directly connected with them. Women, as the earliest, remained also the latest, magicians, though in time they were proscribed and persecuted. On the other hand, many of the druidic magical rites were later ascribed to the *filid*, or poets, and also to Christian saints. Whatever view may be taken of the origin of the druids, it is certain that the Celts believed firmly in magic, and did not require to learn the superstition in any of its branches from the races which they conquered.

For the druids as magicians in Gaul and Ireland see DAUMA, § 7. Their prominence is seen in the fact that in later Celtic literature 'druid' is the equivalent of *magus*, 'magician,' as in the lives of Celtic saints *magi* = 'druids,' while in saga and folk-tale 'druidism' = magic.

2. Elemental magic.—The druids, who claimed to have created the elements, claimed also to rule them. They could cover the dry land with the sea to destroy their victims;<sup>2</sup> they produced enchanted mists in which to hide people or places; they changed day into night, or caused blinding snow-storms. These feats are ascribed to them even in the lives of early Celtic saints.<sup>3</sup> They caused showers of fire to fall upon enemies during battle.<sup>4</sup> In other cases they dried up all the rivers and wells in an enemy's country by means of spells, though the druids of the latter caused water to flow again by shooting an arrow into the ground.<sup>5</sup> They even claimed to remove mountains and dash them against an opposing host.<sup>6</sup> Druids accompanied the warring hosts of Erin, and these marvels usually occurred on such occasions, the rival magicians striving to outdo each other. These and other powers—e.g., rain-making—were later claimed by wizards (*tempestarii*) and witches in Christian times over the Celtic area. Rain-making was usually associated with a sacred well, whither the people went in procession, probably with an image of a divinity, which was sprinkled with the water; in some instances it was sufficient to beat the water with branches, sprinkle it on stones, or throw it in the air. In certain cases the Church took over this rite by making it a part of an elaborate ritual, including a procession with an image of a saint, the priest officiating and saying prayers.<sup>7</sup> But in pagan times the presence of a druid was probably essential. The control of the elements by *tempestarii*, which was denounced by the Church, was directly borrowed from druidic magic. Until comparatively recent times the

<sup>1</sup> W. O. E. Windisch, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1890 ff., I. 56; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *L'Épopée celtique en Irlande*, Paris, 1892, p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> D'Arbois, p. 277.

<sup>3</sup> W. Stokes, *Three Middle-Irish Homilies*, Calcutta, 1877, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *RCel* xii. [1891] 83; d'Arbois de Jubainville, p. 434.

<sup>5</sup> E. O'Curry, *Lectures on the MS Materials of Ancient Irish Hist.*, Dublin, 1861, p. 271 f.

<sup>6</sup> *RCel* xii. 81.

<sup>7</sup> L. F. A. Maury, *Croyances et légendes du moyen âge*, Paris, 1896, p. 14; P. Sébillot, *Folk-lore de France*, do. 1904-07, I. 101, II. 224 f.; L. J. B. Béranger-Féraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, do. 1896, III. 169, 190.

priest in rural French parishes was believed capable of causing rain in time of drought, or of averting tempests.<sup>1</sup>

3. **Magic affecting human beings.**—The druids could make themselves or others invisible, and this was also done by Celtic saints.<sup>2</sup> A spell used for this purpose, or by which the person using it appeared in another form to his enemy and so escaped, as well as the effect produced, was called *fath fiada* ('the wild beast's cry'). By it he and his followers appeared as deer to their foes.<sup>3</sup> The power of such an incantation is still spoken of in remote parts of the W. Highlands.<sup>4</sup> Still more common was the power of shape-shifting, which was also ascribed to women. The evidence of Irish texts shows that the druid could take any shape, or invest others with it, while the same power is also ascribed to divinities.

The children of Lér became swans through the arts of their step-mother, the daughter of the god Bodb Derg, while Oisín's mother became a fawn through the power of the druid Fear Doiriche (P. W. Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, London, 1894, p. 12; P. Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, do. 1896, p. 226). The priestesses of Sena could take any shape (Pomp. Met., iii. 6), and many tales of goddesses or women assuming the shape of birds are found in the sagas. In some instances the belief is evidently connected with totemism, explaining a tabu upon eating certain animals by saying that they were human beings transformed.

'Killing' people to death—a practice used by the *filid* as well as by the druids—was connected with the power of the spoken word, though it may also be connected with the actual power of violent emotion to affect the body. It was usually the result of a satire spoken in verse to the victim; black, red, and white blotches arose on the face, and were followed, sooner or later, by decay or death. The satire was probably a magical spell, and the fear of such a spell brought about the result automatically. Coirpre pronounced the first satire in Ireland upon Bres, king of the Fomorians, and many other instances occur in the texts.<sup>5</sup> To the power of the satire was attributed a quelling force over nature itself.<sup>6</sup> A magical sleep was also produced in different ways. Sometimes it was done by music, which produced first laughter, then tears, then sleep. These three results are uniformly ascribed to music in Irish saga; they were brought about by Dagda's harp, as well as by the songs of the *filid*.<sup>7</sup> All this probably reflects the power of music upon primitive minds, especially since it is so frequently connected with religious or magical dances and orgiastic rites, in which the motion and the music produce delirium, then exhaustion. But it may also suggest the soothing power of music. Similar magical sleep was caused by the music of divine visitants (see BLEST, *ABODE OF THE* [Celtic], §§ 2, 6). In other cases sleep was produced by a 'drink of oblivion,' probably some narcotic made from herbs;<sup>8</sup> but sometimes the effect was curious, as when Cúchulainn, by the drink given him by the druids, was made to forget his fairy mistress, and his wife to forget her jealousy.<sup>9</sup> Another 'druidic sleep,' in which the victim is made to forget or is rendered motionless, and occasionally in that state is caused to tell secrets, is of frequent occurrence, and is suggestive of hypnotism, the powers of which are well known to savage medicine-men, and may quite well have been employed by the druids.<sup>10</sup> The power of 'glamour' produced by

magicians, by which stones or trees seemed to be armed men and were attacked by the victim, is also strongly suggestive of hypnotic influence. It may, however, be merely the record of actual hallucinatory cases, since the 'glamour' in which the modern Celt believes is little else than hallucination. The druid could also turn a man into a lunatic by throwing a wisp of straw at his face after saying a spell over it.<sup>11</sup> Even more primitive was the method of killing a person by throwing a spear into his shadow,<sup>12</sup> or of making an image of him and sticking pins into it or placing it in running water, so that he might suffer or waste away. This image is the *corp creadh*, still known and used in remote Celtic regions.

4. The *Airbe Drúad*, or 'Druid's hedge,' was an invisible magic barrier made by the magician round an army, probably by circumambulating it sunwise and singing spells. Its effect was that the ranks could not be broken, but, if any one was bold enough to break through, its power was gone, though the act usually cost the trespasser his life.<sup>13</sup>

5. **Magical rites connected with stones and trees.**—The cult of stones and the belief that sepulchral stones were the abode of the ghosts of the dead probably gave rise to many magical rites, the origin of which must be sought in remote times. Many of these are still practised, and the method used throws light upon the earlier pagan customs. These are of a magico-erotic nature, and, like similar rites among savages, are founded on the belief that the ghost can cause fruitfulness, or perhaps may incarnate himself in the barren woman who performs the rite. The woman sits on the stone, or slides down it, or thrusts her head or body through a hole in one of the stones of a dolmen. Pregnant women do the same to ensure an easy delivery, or unmarried girls to procure a husband.<sup>14</sup> Similar practices are used in connexion with boulders or stones which are not sepulchral, and probably these were anterior to the use of megalithic monuments. In these cases the rocks were believed to be the abode of spirits, or perhaps manifestations of the power of the Earth divinity, who gave vitality or fruitfulness to those performing the rites. A small offering was usually left on the stone.<sup>15</sup> Such practices may already have been used by the Celts, though they necessarily adapted them to existing stones and monuments in the lands conquered by them. Other practices were the passing of sick persons three times through a holed dolmen or a weather-worn hole in a rock, to obtain strength and healing.<sup>16</sup> In other cases a slit was made in an oak or ash sapling, through which the patient was passed, and the slit was then carefully closed and bound. The underlying idea is complex. The spirit of tree or stone was expected to cause healing, or there was a transference of the disease to either, or perhaps there was some idea of a new birth with renewed strength to the re-born.<sup>17</sup>

Certain magical stones had the power of producing rain or wind when turned with appropriate rites, or in other cases the water in which stones of a fetish kind had been dipped procured healing when it was drunk—a method used by St. Columba.<sup>18</sup> Other magical rites with stones were used in cursing an enemy.

<sup>1</sup> Béranger-Féraud, iii. 218; *GB*, pt. I, *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *RCel* xv. [1894] 444.

<sup>3</sup> Stokes, *Lives of Irish Saints*, Oxford, 1890, p. xxviii.

<sup>4</sup> Béranger-Féraud, i. 529 ff.; T. A. Trollope, *A Summer in Brittany*, London, 1840, ii. 229; W. C. Borlase, *The Dolmens of Ireland*, do. 1897, iii. 841.

<sup>5</sup> *RCel* i. 324 f.

<sup>6</sup> Béranger-Féraud, i. 529, H. 367.

<sup>7</sup> *L'Anthropologie*, iv. [Paris, 1893] 83; F. T. Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, London, 1896, pp. 69, 106.

<sup>8</sup> Adamnan, *Vita S. Columbae*, ii. 34; J. A. MacOulloch, *The Misty Isle of Skye*, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 249.

<sup>1</sup> Béranger-Féraud, iii. 218; *GB*, pt. I, *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 232.

<sup>2</sup> D'Arbois de Jubainville, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> Windisch, i. 52; Stokes, *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, London, 1887, p. 38.

<sup>4</sup> A. Carmichael, *Carmichael's Gaelic*, Edinburgh, 1900, ii. 25.

<sup>5</sup> *RCel* xii. 71; O'Curry, p. 248.

<sup>6</sup> Windisch, *Die altir. Heldensage, Tóin bó Cúalnge*, Leipzig, 1906, line 5467.

<sup>7</sup> *RCel* xii. 109; O'Curry, p. 255.

<sup>8</sup> Joyce, p. 279.

<sup>9</sup> Windisch, *Ir. Texte*, i. 226.

<sup>10</sup> Joyce, p. 38; *RCel* xxiii. [1902] 304.

6. Celtic saints and magic.—Much of the magic of the druids was popularly ascribed to the saints who combated them—with this difference, that their power was held to come from God. In the *Lives* of Celtic saints we find them opposing druids with their own weapons—neutralizing their magic, controlling the elements, producing rain, rendering themselves invisible, producing marvellous supplies of food, and causing transformation or confusion through their curses. The popular belief in magic could not be eradicated, and they who now filled the place of the ancient priesthood were freely dowered by the people and by their biographers with the ancient powers.

See also CHARMS AND AMULETS (Celtic).

LITERATURE.—J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911; S. Reinach, *Cultes, mythes, et religions*, Paris, 1906-12, *passim*.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

MAGIC (Chinese).—Magic in all its forms is a subject which has always fascinated the Chinese mind. The literature which deals with the theory and practice of magic is enormous; and, if much of this literature is wearisome to the modern reader on account of the childish credulity of its authors and the extravagance of their speculations, it is nevertheless worthy of more patient scrutiny and analysis than it has yet received from anthropologists and students of folklore, or even from serious students of Chinese life and character. In this article we cannot do more than touch the fringe of a subject which derives much of its interest from the fact that a belief in magic is still a living force in the China of to-day.

There are many early references to a class of sorcerers or witches known as *wu*. This name is often applied to male as well as female witches, though the more correct designation of the former is *chi*. The term *chi* is rarely found outside the old books, but the term *wu* (usually in some such combination as *wu-p'o*, which means 'witch-wife') has persisted throughout the ages, and is still in common use. In pre-Confucian days the *wu* held a recognized position in the social organization of the country. They were entrusted even in the courts of kings with certain quasi-sacerdotal functions, and in public ceremonies they had stated duties to perform in connexion with divination and exorcism. Judging from the somewhat meagre accounts which we possess, we may suspect that the rites observed by the *wu* were in many respects identical with those practised to this day by the shamans of Central Asia and Siberia (see BURIATS, SHAMANISM). Their methods included mimetic dancing, drum-beating, chanting of mystic formulae, and trance-mediumship, and their efforts were directed towards the foretelling of the future, the conjuration of spirits, and (in general) the invocation of good influences and the expulsion of evil. In the course of ages their position gradually deteriorated. This was largely the result of the rise of Confucian culture, which always aimed at reducing every non-Confucian ideal and practice to a position of inferiority; but it was also due to the fact that many of the magical notions and methods of the *wu* fraternity were taken up and systematized by the Taoists. This is one of the reasons why the popular Taoism of modern times concerns itself with magic and sorcery to an extent which seems quite unwarranted by early Taoist philosophy, and why the illiterate village witches and fortune-tellers of the present day usually profess to act in co-operation with one or more of the innumerable Taoist deities, in spite of the fact that they are the sole surviving representatives of the ancient *wu*, whose name they still bear.

There is reason to believe, however, that besides the officially-recognized *wu* there were always

numerous 'free-lance' witches who carried on a lucrative business among the superstitious multitudes, and whose connexion with the State-cult or predominant religion of the time was little more than nominal. It was probably sorcerers of this type that were aimed at in certain anti-witchcraft regulations (reminding us of Plato's *Laws*, xi. 933) which we find in the *Li Ki*—the canonical 'Book of Rites.'

'Those who gave false reports about spirits, about seasons and days, about consultations of the tortoise-shell and stalks, so as to perplex the multitudes: these were put to death' (*SBE* xxvii. 287*L*). It may be added that the same fate befell inventors of 'wonderful contrivances and extraordinary implements,' because such things raised 'doubts among the multitude' (*ib.*).

But it seems that even the official *wu* were not always free from peril, for the very fact that they were supposed to have a mysterious controlling power over the forces of nature rendered them liable to terrible punishment if those forces seemed to be showing hostility to mankind.

In the year 683 B.C., *a.g.*, there was a disastrous drought, and a certain reigning duke expressed his intention of dealing with the situation by burning two persons—an emaciated or deformed man and a witch. Evidently this was a familiar practice in such emergencies, and the reason why special mention was made of it in this particular case was that, owing to the remonstrances of the duke's minister—who seems to have been far in advance of his time in his attitude towards popular superstitions—the barbarous custom was not carried out.<sup>1</sup> From a similar story which refers to the reign of Duke Mu (400-377 B.C.) it appears that the practice had been modified to the extent that the witch and deformed man were no longer burned alive, but were merely exposed to the scorching heat of the sun.<sup>2</sup>

One explanation of these customs is that by burning a deformed or emaciated man, or by exposing him to the sun, the pity of the heavenly powers would be aroused and rain would be sent to alleviate the wretched man's sufferings; and that the same happy result would follow the burning or exposure of a witch, because a witch was a person who was able to compel spirits to descend to earth. A sounder explanation is based on the belief in the supposed interaction of the principles of *yang* and *yin*—the male and female, or active and passive, forces, which by their alternating pulsations or activities give rise to all natural phenomena. In time of drought the *yang* principle shows excessive activity and disturbs the harmony of nature's processes; steps must be taken, therefore, to redress the balance of forces. The intricacies of the *yin-yang* theory are necessarily bewildering to a Western reader until he has acquired some knowledge of the principles of *feng-shui* (*q.v.*); but it is this pseudo-philosophy—belief in which is slowly decaying in China, but is still far from extinct—that supplies some of the most important hypotheses on which the edifice of Chinese magic has been erected.

No doubt it was only in extremely serious cases of drought that the witches were tortured or put to death. The regular method of obtaining their assistance in rain-making was to send them out, under the guidance of their official leader, the *ssü-wu*, to perform a ritual dance.<sup>3</sup> The dancing of the witches formed part of the ordinary ritual observed on the occasion of the official rain-sacrifices; and, if we may judge from similar practices in other parts of the world, the dancing partook of the nature of mimetic magic.<sup>4</sup> It was

<sup>1</sup> See *Tao Chuan*, in Legge's *Chinese Classics*, vol. v. pt. 1. p. 179 *L*.

<sup>2</sup> See *SBE* xxvii. 201. It has been suspected by commentators that the two stories refer to the same historical incident.

<sup>3</sup> *Chou Li* (Biot's tr., II. 102).

<sup>4</sup> The ceremonial dancing of ancient China was not always magical. There were six dances officially recognized under the Chou dynasty, of which only one (the *Auang*) had anything to do with rain-making. Ceremonial dancing is not yet extinct in China, for it still forms part of the ritual proceedings at the Confucian sacrifices. For an interesting account of the ancient Chinese dances see H. A. Giles, *Adversaria Sinica*, Shanghai, 1906, p. 119 *f*.

accompanied by music; and, if there is any truth in such ancient legends as that of King Mu (whose reign ended in 947 B.C.), we may suspect that music preceded dancing as a means of producing rain. We are told that the method adopted by that monarch for putting an end to an excessive drought was to play magic music on his flute.

Many of the observances still carried out at the popular festivals in China are undoubtedly of a magical character, and are intended to regulate the rainfall, to expel disease and misfortune, to ensure good harvests, and to attract good luck. Communal magic of this kind is sometimes official in character, as in the case of the spring-welcoming ceremonies presided over by the local district-magistrates; but for the most part the rites are conducted by the villagers themselves, under the guidance of their own clan-committees (*hui-shou*), or headmen. Ceremonies which at one time were doubtless carried out with punctilious care and with something like religious awe have in many cases become mere village games and pastimes of which the original significance has been partially or wholly lost. Such are the lantern-dances and stilt-walking of the children of N. China at the full moon of the first month of the year. Few of those who take part in such merry-makings understand that by the skilful manipulation of their paper lanterns they are supposed to be helping and encouraging the moon to go successfully through her phases; that in getting up before dawn on a certain day and cooking a dumpling which 'rises' they are assisting nature to stimulate the dormant activities of animals and vegetation; and that in walking on stilts over ground destined to produce a crop of grain they are helping the wheat and millet to grow to their full height. It is perhaps a significant fact (when we remember the important part played by women in fertility-magic in other parts of the world) that many of the men and boys who take part in these festival-ceremonies are clothed for the occasion in women's garments.

Magical notions are also traceable in numerous simple acts which practically every family performs with a view to the well-being of its own members. Such are the hanging of certain plants above the doorway on certain days, the entwining of red threads in the queues of children to protect them from the demons of disease, and the affixing of pieces of scarlet cloth to the scrub-oak bushes to ensure the protection of the shrubs and the silkworms against hurtful insects and noxious influences. At the New Year it is customary to cover the outsides of doors and windows with paper scrolls containing sage mottoes, quotations from classical and other literature, and words expressive of virtuous aims or suggestive of material prosperity. These scrolls may fairly be regarded as magic charms which will not only prevent evil from entering the house, but will attract the influences which make for good fortune and happiness. Many of the usages connected with death and burial, the ceremonial summoning of ancestral spirits, and the tabuing of personal names are also essentially magical, though their intimate connexion with religious beliefs and observances makes it difficult to decide where magic ends and religion begins.

In China, as elsewhere, magic arts are practised for private and personal as well as for public and family purposes, and many persons who know of no normal method whereby they may bring about the fulfilment of their desires are glad to seek the aid of magicians and witches. The witches of China have had many illustrious clients. One of them was the T'ang emperor Hsüan Tsung, who ordered certain Taoist necromancers to summon

before him the shade of his dead consort, the beautiful Yang Kuei-fei. Very similar stories are told of the emperor Wu of the Han dynasty and the emperor Hsiao-Wu of the earlier Sung dynasty. As for the self-styled 'First Emperor,' who reigned in the 3rd cent. B.C., the assistance of witches and necromancers in his case was unnecessary, for he—like the king Solomon of Muhammadan legend—was himself a king of magicians.<sup>1</sup> Returning to more recent times, we find that the great empress-dowager, who died in 1908, put implicit faith for a time in the magical attainments of the 'Boxers'; and, though the 'Sacred Edict' of the emperor K'ang-hsi bids men abjure all kinds of heterodox teachings and practices, among which the arts of magic are included, and though in quite recent years proclamations have been issued warning the people not to allow themselves to be deluded by witches and soothsayers, it is beyond question that a belief in the reality of magic is by no means confined to the ignorant peasantry.

The official attitude towards 'black magic' (to use the convenient Western term) is clearly demonstrated in the anti-witchcraft clauses of the Penal Code of the late Manchü dynasty. The punishments inflicted on persons convicted of this crime were extremely severe, though it is only fair to add (in the words of a scholarly student of the subject) that 'the pages of Chinese history have never been stained by such a mad epidemic of witch-killing as disgraced Europe and America in the seventeenth century.'<sup>2</sup>

As recently as the summer of 1914 an alleged case of 'black magic' occurred in the territory of Wei-hai-wei, at present administered by Great Britain.

The inhabitants of a certain village approached one of the British Courts with a petition in which they complained that a fellow-villager had been practising magic with disastrous results to their little community. It was stated that he had quarrelled with the village headman, and had foretold the headman's death. 'And sure enough,' they said, 'the headman died, though there was nothing whatever the matter with him.' Two or three other enemies of the accused subsequently died in the same mysterious way; and, to crown all, a villager, on going to the shrine of the guardian-spirit of the village, discovered there a slip of paper on which were written, in the accused's handwriting, the names of various people with whom he was known to be on bad terms. This discovery created a panic among the villagers, who took it for granted that the list comprised the names of all those unfortunate persons whom the wizard had condemned to a speedy death. They therefore seized him and brought him before the writer of this article, who in his magisterial capacity had to perform the somewhat delicate task of differentiating between real and imaginary wrongs and grievances.

From the point of view of the student of magic, the special interest of this particular case centres in the unexpected part played by the tutelary deity of the village. Here, it would appear, we have an instructive example of the intermingling of religion and magic, and the junction seems to have been brought about in this way. One of the principal functions of the *t'u-ti*, or village deity, is to receive the spirits of the newly dead and to act as their spiritual friend and guardian.<sup>3</sup> Each village has its own little shrine dedicated to the local deity, and this shrine usually stands by the roadside a short distance outside the village. When a villager dies, the members of his family go in procession to the *t'u-ti* shrine to make a formal announcement of the death, in order that the deity may make arrangements for the proper reception of the dead man's spirit. Now, at first sight, there seems to be no obvious reason why an

<sup>1</sup> For some of the stories of his magical exploits, which included the transfixing of the sun with a needle in order that uninterrupted daylight might be secured for the building of the Great Wall, see R. F. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, London, 1910, p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> E. T. Williams, in a paper on 'Witchcraft in the Chinese Penal Code,' *JRAS* (North China Branch) xxxviii. (1907) 66.

<sup>3</sup> For a full discussion of the *t'u-ti* and his functions see Johnston, p. 271.

expert in black magic who wishes to bring about the death of his enemies should expect the *t'u-ti*—who is regarded as friendly to men and interested in their welfare—to give him help and countenance in carrying out his nefarious designs against their lives. What, then, is the magician's object in placing a list of the names of his intended victims on the little stone altar of the village *t'u-ti*? The theory seems to be that, when the *t'u-ti* perceives the list of names, he will assume that the persons bearing those names are already dead, and will make preparations in the under world for the reception of their souls. These preparations will act with a powerful attractive force upon the souls concerned, and will create in them an irresistible inclination to sever their connexion with their respective bodies. The non-arrival in the under world of the spirits of persons whose death had already been announced in a formal manner would cause bewilderment to the well-meaning *t'u-ti*, and might perhaps arouse his wrath; and, as it is strongly advisable, in the interests of the community in general, to 'save the face' of the *t'u-ti* and maintain friendly relations with him, the only reasonable course for the spirits in question to adopt is to bow to the inevitable and acquiesce in the premature loss of their physical bodies.

Magical and semi-religious theories of this kind are hardly likely to find Western parallels; but many of the ordinary magical practices of the Chinese are strikingly similar to some of those forms of sympathetic and mimetic magic with which we are familiar in Europe.

The great artist Ku K'ai-chih (4th cent. of our era), one of whose paintings is among the most treasured artistic possessions of the British Museum, was himself a graduate in magic. When spurned by the girl whom he loved, he drew her portrait, and in the place where the heart should be he stuck a thorn. Thereupon the girl, who knew nothing of the portrait and the thorn, began to suffer pain in the region of the heart, and next time her lover paid his addresses to her she did not scorn him. The artist then withdrew the thorn from the portrait, and, though the pain in the damsel's heart promptly disappeared, her love for him remained.

That many of the poets and artists of China have been credited with a knowledge of magic is no matter for surprise when we know how frequently their passionate love of wild nature brought them into contact with the Buddhist and Taoist saints and hermits, whose favourite dwelling-places have always been the caves and forests and ravines of the mysterious mountains. These mountain-dwelling ascetics have been for ages regarded as the discoverers and guardians of occult secrets of various kinds, and, though their disciples and biographers endowed them with faculties which they never possessed and which the best of them never pretended to possess, it is highly probable that there were some who, in the course of their own heart-searchings and their solitary communings with nature, not only made valuable discoveries as to the properties of plants and herbs, but were also successful pioneers in various untrodden fields of psychology and mysticism. To some extent, at least, the popular belief in their supernatural capacities and attainments was justified.

When Buddhism first came to China, and for some centuries afterwards, the relations between Buddhists and Taoists were often strained to breaking point. The victories of the Buddhists—if we may credit the Buddhist historians and biographers—were often brought about by miraculous occurrences which non-Buddhists would perhaps describe as magic if not as mere conjuring tricks. It is difficult, perhaps, in some cases, to draw a distinction between miracles and magic. A miracle, as E. S. Hartland remarks, is 'legitimate magic,' while magic is 'a forbidden

miracle.'<sup>1</sup> However this may be, many of the marvellous doings attributed to Buddhist monks and hermits bear a close resemblance to those recorded of Christian saints. But we know from the earliest Buddhist scriptures that the brethren were not encouraged to perform miracles, and it was certainly not by the help of miracles or of magic that the Buddhists achieved their most substantial successes in China. The Taoists, however, did not scruple to ally themselves with various forms of magic and sorcery, and it is their fatal readiness to meet the popular demand for signs and wonders that is largely answerable for their present degeneration (see TAOISM).

If we had space to deal with matters of detail, it would be necessary to describe the various magical uses made of plants and animals and also of manufactured articles such as metal mirrors and weapons. An authority has stated (see *EBR*<sup>2</sup> xviii. 577) that magic mirrors are mentioned in Chinese literature of the 9th cent.; but they are mentioned and their uses fully described much earlier than that. The curious book known as *Pao P'o-tzu*, which was written by the famous wizard Ko Hung in the 4th cent. of our era, contains full accounts of how to detect the presence of evil spirits and other dangerous beings by the use of magic mirrors. The belief once prevalent in the British Isles that a witch could turn herself into a hare is paralleled by the Far Eastern belief (still extremely common in China) that demon-witches can assume the form of foxes and other beasts.<sup>3</sup> A book could be filled with the magical notions and theories which in China are based on the habits and peculiarities of animals. Even insects are not exempt from the necessity of making a contribution to the treasury of magical lore. There is in China a destructive little insect known to Europeans as the silver-fish (*Lepisma saccharina*), which is a most unwelcome visitor to libraries. It is believed that, if one of these insects gets into a Taoist classic and eats the two characters *shên-hsien* ('spiritual-immortal'), its silvery body will become five-coloured. If the coloured insect be subsequently caught and eaten, the man who eats it will have the happiness of attaining the goal of Taoist ambition—he will overcome death and develop into a spiritual being. As to trees, plants, and herbs, large numbers are believed to possess some magical property or to be adaptable to magical uses. The cypress, pine, and similar trees are supposed to be conducive to immortality, and, when we learn that a noted hermit was in the habit of sleeping on a bed of pine-needles, we may be sure that this was not done merely as a means of mortifying the flesh.<sup>4</sup> The willow is much used as a rain-charm. In times of drought in Shansi and neighbouring provinces adults and children may be seen going about with willow-wreaths on their heads. The peach-tree is famous for its magical properties, and for this reason peach-twigs and peach-blossoms are frequently mentioned in Chinese fairy-lore. The use of peachwood for the exorcism of evil spirits is very ancient, for the brandishing of peach-wands was part of the recognized procedure of the professional *wu* at royal courts under the Chou kings and probably at a much earlier date.

That large and important subdivision of Chinese magic which concerns itself with charms and amulets and divination is dealt with elsewhere (see Literature below). Here it must suffice to mention that the principal purveyor of charms is

<sup>1</sup> *Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> For a full discussion of all forms of magic see de Groot, *Religious System of China*, iv. 186 f.; see also art. LITRANTHROPY.

<sup>3</sup> See Johnston, *Buddhist China*, London, 1913, p. 245, and *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 262 f., 275-284.



the 'Celestial Master'—usually described by Europeans as 'the Taoist pope'—who lives among the Dragon-Tiger Mountains in the province of Kiangai. The practice of divination is also largely in the hands of Taoist specialists and *wu-p'o*; but Confucianism has always had under its patronage the complex systems of divination which are based on that abstruse classic the *I King*, or 'Book of Changes' (*SBE* xvi.). There is a grass known as *shih-t'iao* which grows on the grave of Confucius and is carefully gathered and put up into packets. The stiff dried stalks of this plant are believed to retain some of the *ling*, or spiritual efficacy, which lies latent in the sacred soil, and they are or were highly valued for divining purposes. During recent years a very interesting discovery of 'oracle bones' and tortoise-shell fragments was made in the province of Honan. They are believed (mainly on the evidence of the archaic script) to belong to the 12th cent. B.C., though certain authorities assign some of them to a somewhat later period. An inspection of these fragments throws a most welcome light on the classical and post-classical references to the ancient methods of 'fortune-telling'.<sup>1</sup>

Divination by the tortoise-shell and by the dried stalks of certain plants were the methods by which the ancient sage kings made the people believe in seasons and days, reverse spiritual beings, stand in awe of their laws and orders; the methods (also) by which they made them determine their perplexities and settle their misgivings' (*Lt Kt*, i. 1. 5. 27 [*SBE* xxvii. 24]).

The forms of magic which are or were popularly supposed to be associated with astrology and palmistry, and with automatic writing, telepathy, clairvoyance, and 'possession' by gods or demons, are all familiar to the people of China; and there is good reason to believe that any society for 'psychic research' which showed itself enterprising enough to conduct some patient investigations on Chinese soil would be rewarded by interesting and perhaps valuable results.

**LITERATURE.**—The subject of magic and allied topics is exhaustively dealt with in J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., esp. vols. v. and vi. E. Biot's *Fr. tr. of the Chou Li* (*Le Tchou-ly*, Paris, 1861) should be consulted for information regarding the official standing and functions of the *yu* (see esp. ii. 76-104). There are many references to sorcery and magic—some of them shrewdly critical—in Wang Chung, *Lun Hing*, an Eng. tr. of which (by A. Forke) has appeared in two parts (pt. i, London, 1907; pt. ii, Berlin, 1911). In J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861-72, and *SBE* xvi. [1882], xxvii. [1885], xxviii. [1885], xxxix. [1891], and xl. [1891], English readers will find all the references to magic which occur in the canonical literature mentioned in the above article. Students of the subject will also do well to consult H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Shanghai, 1911 (*Variétés sinologiques*, no. 32), and L. Wieger, *Folklore chinois moderne*, Paris, 1909. From a more popular point of view the subject of Chinese magic has been dealt with in N. B. Dennys, *Folklore of China*, London, 1876, and F. H. Balfour, *Leaves from my Chinese Scrapbook*, do. 1887. Interesting sidelights on popular notions of magic can be gathered from the collection of stories known as the *Liao Chai*, tr. H. A. Giles, under the title of *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*, London, 1880, new ed., Shanghai, 1908. The Chinese literature dealing with the subject from every conceivable point of view is voluminous, and hitherto only fragments of it have been translated. Good Chinese bibliographies will be found in the works of de Groot, Doré, and Wieger referred to.

See also artt. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Chinese), CHARMS AND AMULETS (Buddhist), DIVINATION (Buddhist), FENG-SHUI, FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Chinese), CALENDAR (Chinese), FORTUNE (Chinese), COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD (Chinese), COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Chinese).

R. F. JOHNSTON.

**MAGIC (Egyptian).—1. The Egyptian view of magic.**—If the Egyptians had been more self-analytic than they actually were, they might, from their own point of view, have described all their actions as either ordinary or magical. By ordinary actions would have been understood all those simple ways of coping with inanimate things and living beings which were suggested by habit, mother wit,

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., various passages in the *I King*, *Shu King*, *Lt Kt*, and *Chou Li*. A recent account of the new discovery is to be found in *JRAS* (North China Branch) xiv. [1914] 65 f.

or acquired skill. But, when inanimate matter proved recalcitrant, and living creatures were unmoved by requests, prayers, commands, promises, or threats, there still remained, in their opinion, a method of achieving their ends by means of an art that they called *hiks* (Coptic  $\mathfrak{E}|\mathfrak{K}$ ). There is direct traditional authority for translating this very ancient term by the English word 'magic' (*magētōn*, *magia*, Ac 8<sup>11</sup>), and the examination of the hieroglyphic and hieratic examples of its use proves it to correspond fairly well to what we understand by 'magical power.' Wherever mysterious, miraculous knowledge was required to effect a purpose, that was *hiks*; *hiks* was something different from the techniques and practices of everyday life, since it postulated special powers in its user, and always made a greater or less demand upon faith.

**2. Magic and religion.**—For our traditional Western thought magic and religion are always more or less consciously contrasted with one another, whence students have often unwarrantably assumed that the two are radically heterogeneous, and that they represent successive strata in the mental development of mankind. Some investigators argue that magic is the earlier and ruder product (e.g., Fraser), while others (e.g., Erman) hold it to be a debased corruption of the nobler phenomenon of religion. So far as Egypt is concerned, there cannot be the slightest doubt that *hiks* was part and parcel of the same *Weltanschauung* as created the religion which it deeply interpenetrated. Before defining 'magic' and 'religion' for Egyptological purposes—and we must insist on our right to frame our own definitions within the limits prescribed by the current, untechnical meaning of these terms—it will be profitable to make a rapid survey of the facts to be distributed between the two provinces.

It is with active relations that we are here concerned, and with doctrines only in so far as they are involved in the same. There are three classes of being that are affected, namely the living, the dead, and the gods. Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of the Egyptians' view of the universe is the thoroughgoing and impartial logic with which they drew the consequences of their belief that the gods and the dead were beings of like nature with themselves, subject to human appetites and needs, and amenable to the same methods of persuasion or compulsion. Hence the principal duty of the priests was to keep those whom they served provided with food and drink, and to maintain their houses in good order; the analogy with the domestic services demanded by the living was fully conscious, for the priests of the gods and the dead were called 'the servants of the god' (*hm-ntr*) and 'the servants of the departed spirit' (*hm-k*) respectively, even as the temple was called 'the house of the god' (*h-t ntr*) and the tomb (or an essential portion of it) 'the house of the departed spirit' (*h-t k*). Again, the Egyptians could seek help of their gods and dead in the same naïve and unsophisticated way as one man sought help of another—e.g., by prayer, by questioning (asking for an oracle), and by writing letters (for letters to the dead, see art. LIFE AND DEATH [Egyptian], § 9). But in their own everyday life, as seen above (§ 1), the Egyptians resorted, when all else failed, to mysterious, uncanny arts (*hiks*) to achieve various difficult aims; the method employed was not simply coercion, but coercion of an abnormal and special kind. It would have been strange if the practice of *hiks* had been restricted to the narrow circle of the living, when the living shared with the gods and the dead all their other modes of intercourse. In point of fact, it was *hiks* more than anything else that welded together the seen and the unseen worlds. The self-protective rites of the living, as we shall have abundant occasion to see, are full of trafficking with the gods and the dead. But the gods and the dead themselves had a use for the miraculous power called *hiks*; Thoth and Isis were famous adepts of the art (below, § 10), and in a demotic story the dead priest Naneferkaptah deeply resents the attempt to rob him of a book of incantations that had been buried with him in his tomb (F. L. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900, p. 301). Nothing could better prove the wide range of *hiks* than to observe its transference from secular to funerary or divine employments and vice versa. In the *Pyramid Texts* and the *Book of the Dead*, compilations intended to ensure the well-being of the departed, one may often come across spells that must originally have been composed for earthly use—spells directed against the bites of snakes (e.g., *Die altägypt. Pyramidentexte*, ed. E. Sethe, Leipzig, 1908, §§ 246, 247) or of crocodiles (e.g., *Book of the Dead*, tr. E. A. W. Budge, London, 1906, chs. xxxi., xxxii.), for example; even erotic charms may be found inscribed on coffins (cf. H. Schack-Schackenburg,

*Swetitschbuch*, Leipzig, 1908, pl. 16. 11-15). Conversely, the *Book of Overthrowing Apophis* (Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, London, 1910) was a liturgy intended for daily recitation in the temple of Amen-ré at Thebes, Apophis being the mythical snake that was supposed to be the eternal foe of the sun-god Râ; the rubrics of this book nevertheless declare that it will prove of the greatest advantage to the private individual who recites it in the presence of the god. It may be added that the word *hike* is quite common in all parts of the *Book of the Dead*, as well as in such temple rituals as the *Book of Overthrowing Apophis* just mentioned.

It may therefore be taken as proved that *hike* was as intimately associated with the presumed existence of the gods and the dead as it was with the real existence of the living. But, further than this, a greater or less element of *hike* may have been inherent in all the dealings between men on the one side and the gods and the dead on the other. The two last classes of being were, after all, creatures of a world apart, elusive in their nature and hard to reach by ordinary, matter-of-fact means. The very idea of their existence puts a strain upon the imagination, and for this reason set forms of words, indicative of an effort to break down mystical barriers, had to accompany even such simple deeds of homage as the presentation of food-offerings. In other terms, the gods and the dead could hardly be approached save by the medium of what is known as 'ritual,' and the attribute which distinguishes ritual from ordinary performances may have been just that attribute which the Egyptians called *hike*. The point is not susceptible of absolute proof, for it was naturally only in the more extreme cases, where the sense of mystery and miracle-working had to be emphasised, that the term *hike* was actually applied; but the view that *hike* underlies all ritual is favoured by the close resemblance between the divine and funerary rites, on the one hand, and the rites performed for human benefit (self-protective and similar rites), on the other. The formulae of the *Book of the Dead* differ neither in form nor in substance from the incantations which the Egyptians used to heal their own maladies; and the same general similarity also runs through the daily liturgies of the temples and the tombs (see A. Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte*, Paris, 1902).

From the Egyptian point of view we may say that there was no such thing as 'religion'; there was only *hike*, the nearest English equivalent of which is 'magical power.' The universe being populated by three homogeneous groups of beings—the gods, the dead, and living human persons—their actions, whether within a single group or as between one group and another, were either ordinary or uncanny (*hike*). But the gods and the dead were somewhat uncanny themselves, so that all dealings with them or performed by them were more or less *hike*. It was only when men treated them ordinarily, and as man to man, that this quality of *hike* was reduced to a minimum, as in the case of spontaneous prayer and the letters to the dead—in fact, just in those rare instances where the solemn phraseology of ritual was avoided.

3. Magic defined for Egyptological purposes as *privata religio*.—We shall hardly be able to avoid rendering *hike* in English by the words 'magic' or 'magical power'; but, if the Egyptian conception of *hike* be taken as the criterion of what is magical and what is not, we shall have little or no use for the word 'religion,' and a multitude of facts which the common parlance would more naturally describe as 'religious' will fall under the head of 'magic.' It is advisable, therefore, in defining 'magic' for Egyptological purposes, to strike a compromise between the Egyptian connotation of *hike* and the English connotation of 'magic.' Taking our cue from the former, we shall restrict the sense of 'magic' to those actions which clearly have the implications of mystery and the miraculous; at the same time we shall attempt to maintain the distinction between magic and religion, or, rather, between magic and other kinds of religious acts. It is fully in accordance with the practice of Egyptologists, instinctively adopted but inconsistently carried out, to contrast 'magic' with the 'cult of the dead' and the 'cult of the gods,' as referring exclusively to those rites which deliberately and in the first instance aimed at the advantage of living human beings, the cults of the dead and of the gods being in this division implicitly classed together as 'religion.' Magical actions may therefore, for our purposes, be defined as those actions which men performed for their

own benefit or for the benefit of other living men, and which demanded certain miraculous powers for their performance. Warning must be given against two misconceptions: in the first place, it must be clearly understood that the gods and the dead may, as indeed they usually do, enter into the *dramatis personae* of the magical rite; the principle of division is not *de quibus* but *cui bono*; in the second place, magic as thus defined did not differ essentially in its mechanism from the cults of the dead and of the gods, nor was it necessarily regarded with feelings of moral reprobation.

For a similar definition see A. H. Gardiner, 'Notes on Egyptian Magic,' in *Trans. Third Internat. Congr. Hist. Rel.*, Oxford, 1908, i. 208-210. Erman (*Ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1909), though forming a very different estimate of magic from that here adopted, accepts the same tripartite division of the active aspect of religion into *Götterkultus*, *Totenkultus*, and *Zauber*. Magic as thus defined has a whole native literature of its own: various hieratic papyri in Leyden, Turin, London, Berlin, Cairo, Rome, Vienna, and elsewhere, mostly dating from the New Kingdom; several similar papyri of the Middle Kingdom, in the Ramesseum find of 1896, still unpublished and in the writer's hands; numerous ostraca in various collections. Besides these must be named the medico-magical papyri (see art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Egyptian)), and the so-called *Cippi of Horus*, of which the type is the *Mettierisch Stelo* (ed. W. Golenschoff, Leipzig, 1877).

The abstract concept of *hike* is once or twice found deified, apparently in something like the restricted meaning assigned to 'magic' in this section. Two physicians of the Old Kingdom bear, besides the honorific title 'priest of Horus in Hundred-town,' also that of 'priest of *Hike*' (A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'ancien empire*, Paris, 1889, p. 96; R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Berlin, 1849-58, ii. 91a).

The deified concept of *Hike* is figured in the form of a man in some sculptures of the Vth dyn. (L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, Leipzig, 1913, ii. pl. 20), and is of occasional occurrence also in the texts (ib. p. 99). A funerary incantation whereby it was sought to confer upon the deceased the powers of *Hike* himself has recently come to light (P. Lacan, *Textes religieux*, Paris, 1910, no. lxxviii.); here *Hike* is described as a creation of the sun-god in primordial times, when as yet nothing else existed.

4. The purposes of magic.—In theory the domain of magic was as wide as men's desires themselves, magical art supplying all those things that were not procurable by simpler means. Our existing materials, which illustrate only a limited number of purposes, are probably very one-sided. The Egyptians believed, or feigned to believe, that their wizards could work all kinds of wonders; in a late tale a charm is made to bring the viceroy of Ethiopia up to Egypt, to the place where Pharaoh dwells, where he is to be beaten with five hundred blows of the stick, and returned to the land of Ethiopia again, 'all in six hours thither' (Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 59). It is said to have been related at the court of Cheops how one magician fashioned a crocodile of wax that devoured an adulterer, how another parted the waters of a lake into which a jewel had accidentally fallen, and how a third cut off a goose's head and replaced it in a twinkling (Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, Berlin, 1891, i. 8 f.). The magical contest of Moses with Jannes and Jambres (Ex 7<sup>8-12</sup>, 2 Ti 3<sup>8</sup>) is thus quite Egyptian in spirit. Passing from such fabulous reports to practical magic, we may classify the attested uses under a comparatively small number of heads:

1. DEFENSIVE.—How important this class was may be judged from the fact that in a general panegyric of God as creator He is said to have 'made magical spells for men for defence against things that happened' (*Pap. Petersburg 1116 A* (ed. Golenschoff, Petrograd, 1913), line 136 f.).

(1) *Prophylactia*.—To avert death, W. Pleyte and F. Rosi, *Papyrus de Turin*, Leyden, 1869-76, pl. 120 f.; W. M. F. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, London, 1907, pl. 27 c; against scorpions, *Pap. Turin*, 124; *Pap. Leyden 349*; against lions, hymns, and 'all long-tailed animals that eat flesh and drink blood,' *Le Papyrus magique Harris* (ed. F. J. Chabas, Chalon-sur-Saône, 1861; also Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri*, verso B; against crocodiles and other dangers of the river, such as drowning, ib. recto; against snakes, L. Stern, *Papyrus Ebers*, Leipzig, 1875, pl. 97. 17.



(2) *Preventive*.—‘To prevent a woman from conceiving,’ *Ramesside medical*, unpublished; ‘to prevent rats from devouring the grain in a barn,’ *Ebers*, 98. 6.

(3) *Counter-charms*.—‘To lay a spell (š; š’) on him whom one fears,’ *Levi, Hier. Ostr.* 654, no. 1; ‘to banish magic from the body’ (prescription of drugs), *Ebers*, 24. 2, 7, 10; against a complaint named ‘the artifice of spells,’ *Ebers*, 66. 13. A book containing ‘formulae for repelling the evil eye’ (šEP-BUN); cf. also *Pap. Anast.* iii. 5. 4) was preserved in the Library of Edfu (*ZÄ* ix. [1871] 44).

(4) *Curative*.—Spell to cure scorpion-stings, *Pap. Turin*, 81 + 77; headache, *Pap. Leyden* 548, verso 2. 9; burns, *Ebers*, 60. 3, 6; *Pap. Leyden* 548, recto 3. 1; to ease pain, *Ebers*, 30. 6. For the relations of magic and medicine see below, § 8.

(5) *Psychological*.—A book for repelling fear which comes to befall a man by night or day, from front or behind, *Pap. Leyden* 548, recto 2. 1.

II. *PRODUCTIVE*.—(1) *Obstetric*.—To facilitate birth, *Erman, Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind*, Berlin, 1901, pl. 5. 8, 6. 3; *Pap. Leyden* 548, recto 12. 6; ‘to bring milk to a woman who is nursing a child’ (prescription only), *Ebers*, 97. 10; ‘to keep a child warm,’ *Zaubersprüche*, verso 2. 2.

(2) *Weather-charms*.—‘Thou shalt perform these ceremonies when a storm rages in the east of heaven, or when Rē sets in the West, to prevent storm-clouds in the east of heaven. . . . Thou shalt perform these ceremonies many times against bad weather, that the sun may shine, and Apophis be overthrown in truth’ (*Book of Overthrowing Apophis*, 23. 14 f.).

(3) *Love-charms*.—A spell to secure sexual enjoyment, secondarily used for funerary purposes, has been alluded to in § 8. Erotic charms must have been frequent, but those that are known are of late date; in demotic, see F. L. Griffith and H. Thompson, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, London, 1904, p. 14; in Greek, O. Wessely, *Griechische Zauberpapyrus*, Vienna, 1888, lines 296 f. and 1877 f.

(4) *General*.—‘He who recites this book is blessed every day; he hungers not, thirsts not, lacks not clothes, and is not melancholy. He does not enter into the law-court, nor does judgment go forth against him. But if he enters the law-court, he goes forth vindicated, praise being given to him like a god. Nor does his popularity depart from him’ (*Pap. Leyden* 547, 12. 10-12).

III. *PROGNOSTIC*.—Many cases that fall under this head are on the border-line between magic and the techniques of ordinary life.

(1) *Obstetric*.—To know whether a child will live, *Ebers*, 97. 12; to know whether a woman will give birth, W. Wressink, *Medizinischer Papyrus des Berliner Museums*, Leipzig, 1900, verso 1. 3, 7, 9, etc.

(2) *Divination*.—A number of magical modes of divination are detailed in the *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, ed. Griffith-Thompson (see p. 14), but these instances do not seem to be of ancient origin. Oracle-seeking does not come under the head of magic, as here defined.

(3) *Soothsaying*.—In the tale of Unamūn (*RTAP* xxi. [1899] 81) there is related a case of a young man being ‘seised by the god’ and giving a solemn warning while in this condition.

(4) *Prophecy* may perhaps be brought within the sphere of magic, as it postulates supernatural power in its human mouthpiece, and usually involves the welfare of human beings. There is only one very ancient book of predictive prophecies, in a Ptolemaic papyrus (see A. H. Gardiner, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, I. [1914] 100 f.).

There seems to be no Pharaonic evidence for horoscopes, oracles, and other forms of prognostic magic.

IV. *MALEVOLENT*.—See next section. Cursing and oaths (conditional self-curses) are magical in quality, but cannot be dealt with in this article.

5. *Magic and law*.—The Egyptians themselves seem to have made no distinction between ‘black magic’ and ‘white magic,’ but, when magical arts were used for wicked purposes and to injure others, they naturally came within the category of legal offences.

Thus papyri of the XIXth dyn. (*Les Papyrus Lee et Rollin*, published by T. Deveria, *Œuvres et fragments [Bibliothèque égyptologique]*, v., Paris, 1897, II. 97 ff.) record the case of two harem-conspirators, one of whom ‘made magical writings to lead astray and work mischief, and made certain gods of wax and certain medicines to weaken the limbs of men,’ while the other procured ‘writings for giving himself fearfulness and majesty,’ and made ‘men of wax and writings in order that they might be introduced into the harem . . . so as to lead astray the one faction and so as to bewitch the rest.’ Both these criminals were condemned to death.

6. *The magical rite*.—A characteristic example of a magical spell, translated *in extenso* from the original, will give a truer impression of the methods of Egyptian magic than any amount of mere description.

‘Flow out, thou poison, come forth upon the ground. Horus conjures thee, he cuts thee off, he spits thee out, and thou risest not up but fallest down. Thou art weak and not strong, a coward and dost not fight, blind and dost not see. Thou liftest not thy face. Thou art turned back and findest not thy way. Thou mournest and dost not rejoice. Thou creepst away and dost not appear. So speaketh Horus, efficacious of magic!

The poison which was rejoicing, the hearts of multitudes grieve for it; Horus has slain it by his magic. He who mourned is in joy. Stand up, thou who wast prostrate, Horus has restored thee to life. He who came as one carried is gone forth of himself; Horus has overcome his bites. All men, when they behold Rē, praise the son of Osiris. Turn back, thou snake, conjured in thy poison which was in any limb of N the son of M. Behold, the magic of Horus is powerful against thee. Flow out, thou poison, come forth upon the ground.

To be recited over a hawk with the two feathers on its head, being made of ivy-wood and painted. Open its mouth and offer to it bread and beer and incense. Place it on the face of one suffering from the bite of any snake and recite from beginning to end. It will repel the poison. A successful specific’ (*Pap. Turin*, I. 1-8 = *Katernich Stele*, 8-9).

7. *Analysis of the magical rite*.—Except in certain border-line cases (prognostics, medical treatment, etc.), the magical rite is always twofold and comprises (1) an oral rite, consisting of certain words to be recited, and (2) a manual rite, consisting of certain actions to be performed. These two portions must be discussed in detail.

(1) *The oral rite*.—The task that lay before the magician usually involved a struggle with some difficulty, which might consequently be regarded as a hostile and aggressive force. This force is not always completely personified, but more often than not it is treated personally, being commanded, persuaded, cajoled, warned, threatened, or cursed, just like a human being.

A leading idea in defensive magic, which embraces no small part of our material, is that of ‘possession.’ The possible antagonists are often enumerated in a long rigmorale—e.g., ‘the assaults of a god, the assaults of a goddess, the assaults of a male pain, the assaults of a female pain, the assaults of a dead man, or the assaults of a dead woman,’ etc. (*Ebers*, 30. 12); ‘enemy male or female, dead man male or female, adversary male or female’ (*Pap. Turin*, 122. 5). Any god could doubtless attack human beings, but savage or malicious deities, like Seth, the murderer of Osiris, or Sakhmēt, the ‘lady of pestilence’ (šb-š’šw), were doubtless most to be feared. The dead were specially to be feared; nor was it only those dead who were unhappy or unblessed that might torment the living, for the magician sometimes warns them that their tombs are endangered (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 8. 7-9; *Pap. Turin*, 124. 12-13). The possessing spirit was particularly likely to be of foreign origin, a negress or an Asiatic woman (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 2. 7-8); and it was wont to come secretly, ‘arriving in darkness, gliding in, its nose backwards and its face turned’ (ib. 1. 9 f.). Its mode of taking possession is, as a rule, vague; the ‘demon’

(šb, Bohelric [S]) doubtless often dwelt ‘with’ or in the afflicted one (*Bekhten Stele*, 11. 19 = Budge, *Egyptian Reading Book*, London, 1888, p. 27 f.), but sometimes it merely injected some kind of poison, such as its semen, urine, or the like (*Pap. Leyden* 548, verso 6. 6 f.; cf. especially the word šw in *Ebers*, 24. 14, 34. 10, etc.). Or else, again, the hostile power might attack with arrows (*Pap. Leyden* 548, 1. 5). The evil influences were most easily ejected through the excretions of the body, such as the sweat or urine (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 2. 8-10); or they might come out in the form of winds (*Pap. Leyden* 548, verso 12. 9). All the members of the body were subject to attacks of the kind, whence their frequent enumeration in magical texts (see below); here they are not seldom called upon to ‘open their mouths and vomit forth what is in them’ (*Pap. Leyden* 548, recto G 2. 2. 14-8. 1).

The malignant force was sometimes merely informed of its defeat:

‘Thou flyest before the sorcerer, before the servant of Horus, as soon as he mentions the name of Horus, or the name of Seth, the lord of heaven. He raleeth thy scimitar, and smiteth thy forearm and thy throat. Thou fallest upon the ground on which thy loin-cloth is spread, and there thou gropest in quest of thy heart. So dost thou die, and the report goes forth to the house of Rē that Horus has conquered the disease’ (*Pap. Leyden* 548, recto G 8. 12-4. 1).

Sometimes the magician frustrates the aims of the enemy by a simple veto:

‘Dost thou come to kiss this child? I suffer thee not to kiss it’ (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 2. 1).

Elsewhere, as in the example quoted in § 6, the poison is bidden to flow forth upon the earth. Warnings frequently supplemented and reinforced such commands, as:

‘Fall not upon his tongue; it is a serpent at the mouth of its hole’ (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 2. 11, in the midst of a long series of similar phrases).

Commands and warnings failing in their effect, a more persuasive means is tried:

‘Come, lay thee down, departing to the place where thy

beautiful women are, on whose hair is myrrh, and fresh incense on their shoulders' (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 2. 5-6).

Or else the demon is made to understand that in delaying to obey the magician he holds the whole order of nature in suspense:

'Rē waits for thee in order to shine, and Atum to set, that thou mayest quit the arm of N son of M. The chief of the Westerners waits for thee in order to enter in triumphant, that thou mayest quit the arm of N son of M' (*Pap. Leyden 345*, verso G 4. 3-4).

In the last resort curses are employed:

'Every god curses thee, every goddess curses thee. . . . The [great] Ennead curses thee, the little Ennead curses thee' (*Pap. Leyden 345*, verso I. 1-3).

It often happens, indeed almost in every spell, that gods are summoned to the sorcerer's aid. They are invoked with salutations and praise:

'Hail to thee, Horus, thou that art in the town of Hundreds, thou sharp-horned one, who shootest at the mark. . . . I come to thee, I praise thy beauty; destroy thou the evil that is in my limbs' (*Pap. Leyden 347*, 2. 10-13).

A trait characteristic of Egyptian magic, noted already by Iamblichus (ed. G. Parthey, Berlin, 1857, p. 245), is the threatening tone often adopted towards the gods; examples are very common:

'On the night that the wife of Horus (Selkis, the scorpion goddess) shall bite thee, I suffer not the Nile to beat upon its bank, I suffer not the sun to shine upon the earth, I suffer not the seed to grow, I suffer not cakes to be made, I suffer not fugs of beer to be brewed for the 365 gods, who are hungry by both day and night—on that night of the burial of Osiris' (*Pap. Turin*, 187, 1-4).

The most daring menace of all is the following:

'I will throw fire into Busiris and burn up Osiris' (*Pap. Turin*, 125. 10; cf. *Ebers*, 30. 8).

On such occasions the magician is apt to disclaim his responsibility:

'It is not I who say it, it is not I who repeat it; it is Isis who says it, it is Isis who repeats it' (*Pap. Leyden 348*, recto II. 7; *Pap. Turin*, 125. 8-9; *Pap. mag. Harris*, 9. 11).

Elsewhere the gods are referred to in the third person, and the more numerous they are, the more efficacious the rite is likely to be. Thus, when the limbs of the body are enumerated,<sup>1</sup> it often happens that each separate limb is identified with, or said to belong to, some special deity; and the list ends with the words,

'There is no limb of his without a god' (*Pap. Leyden 348*, verso G. 2).

Origen (c. *Colossim*, viii. 58) asserts that the Egyptians divided the human body into thirty-six parts, and placed each one of them under the charge of a god; 'and so,' he says, 'invoking these, they heal the diseases of the limbs.' The divine names mentioned by Origen are those of the gods of the decans, or ten-day periods.

The magician often speaks of himself in the first person, but sometimes identifies himself with a particular god whose assistance he desires—e.g.,

'I am Rē in this his mysterious name "He-who-was-in-the-Mun," shooting his arrows against his toes' (*Pap. Leyden 347*, 4. 11f.).

or else with some god who, like the person for whom the rite is performed, had once been menaced by some imminent danger:

'Avant thou, for I am Horus; retire thou, for I am the son of Osiris. The magic of my mother (Isis) is the protection of my limbs' (*Hearst medical Papyrus*, 11. 41f.).

At other times he merely claims to be 'the servant of Horus' (*Pap. Leyden 345*, verso F 1; *Pap. Turin*, 134. 1.).

Often a mythical precedent was alluded to or narrated at length, and the mere mention of a parallel case seems to have been considered a useful expedient for ensuring the success of the rite. Thus the magician declares:

'I will banish all bad and evil things which come to fall upon N the son of M, even as Rē saved himself from his enemies, even as Khnum saved himself from Sobk, even as Horus saved himself from Seth, and even as Thoth saved himself from Be'ob' (*Pap. Turin*, 118. 9-10).

<sup>1</sup> For similar examples from the funerary books see H. Grapow, *SA* xlix. [1911] 48-54.

<sup>2</sup> See Erman's remarks, *Zaubersprüche*, p. 22.

More often the point of the narrative is merely implied; in the following short incantation against burns even the names of the interlocutors, namely a messenger and Isis, are omitted:

'"Thy son Horus has been burnt in the desert." "Is water there?" "There is no water there." "There is water in my mouth, and a Nile between my legs; I am come to quench the fire"' (*Ebers*, 69. 3-4; see H. Schliker, in *ZA* xxxvi. [1896] 129-131).

Many valuable fragments of myths have been preserved to us by this means.

Especially frequent are tales that turn upon the revelation of the true name of a god; a well-known instance is the story of how Isis devised a stratagem by which the sun-god Rē should be compelled to divulge his name; this she brought about by causing him to receive a snake-bite which none could cure save herself (*Pap. Turin*, 131-133). Less well known is the narrative of the attempts made by Seth to provoke Horus into betraying his real name, which would have given the mischievous god power over his nephew; Horus, however, invents various absurd names, and so manages to elude his wicked uncle (*Pap. Turin*, 134 f.).

The importance of names in Egyptian magic was very considerable; the knowledge of names gave control, whether for good or for evil. It was not a rare proverb that 'a man lives who is conjured by his name' (*Pap. Turin*, 133. 6, 11, 134. 7, 9, etc.). Thus to be familiar with the names of the epagomenal days (*Pap. Leyden 348*, 2. 6) was a safe method of protecting oneself against their perils. This is a topic that might be greatly elaborated (see art. NAMES [Egyptian]).

Closely akin to the question of the importance of names is that of the importance of language. Certain formulae were supposed to possess particular efficacy, such as the words 'Protection behind, a protection that comes, a protection!' (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 9. 2). The magical potency of anything depends in a large degree on its mysteriousness, and it is therefore but little wonder that cabalistic gibberish (*Pap. mag. Harris*, verso C) and foreign spells were held in high esteem (*Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus*, ed. W. Wreszinski, Leipzig, 1912, nos. 27, 28, 32, the last being in the Kefti language).

The significance attached to names and language is an aspect of the doctrine of *sympathy*, by far the most fertile conception of all those underlying the magical rite. This doctrine holds that things that have once been associated in any way remain henceforth connected and almost interchangeable for practical purposes; its chief varieties are (1) the principle of *contagion*, which affirms that things that belong together or have once been in contact continue to influence one another even when separated; and (2) the principle of *homoeopathy*, according to which like has special power to affect like. These and other forms of sympathetic magic not so easily classified are of constant recurrence in the Egyptian magical books, both in the oral and in the manual rites; the recital of mythical precedents also clearly comes under this head. The very idea of the oral rite is an instance of homoeopathic magic, for language may be said to imitate and image the things which it expresses, and in so far verbal references to a desired effect may have been considered instrumental in producing it.

Sympathetic magic takes curious forms at times; one or two instances may be singled out. In connexion with the importance of language reference may be made to the significance of puns. A magician says:

'I make a charm for him against thee of 'a'afai-plant, which does injury, of onions, which destroy thee, and of honey, which is sweet to men and sour to the dead' (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 2. 4).

The virtues here ascribed to the 'a'afai-plant and to honey are of obscure origin, but the destructive

property of onions is clearly due to the fact that the Egyptian word for onions was *hddg* (the vowel is merely guessed), while 'to destroy' was *hddg*. In order to tell whether a new-born infant would live or not, its first articulate cries were to be noted:

'If it says *ny*, that means it will live; if it says *mbi*, that means it will die' (*Ebers*, 97. 13);

the sound *mbi* resembles the emphatic Egyptian expression for 'no' (see *ZA* xliv. [1907] 132).

A widely different example of the supposed influence of like upon like is illustrated by the following words, addressed to a demon that is causing sickness:

'Thy head has no power over his head, thy arms have no power over his arms, thy legs have no power over his legs' (A. H. Gardiner, J. G. Milne, and H. Thompson, *Theban Ostraca*, London, 1913, p. 141.).

A conditional curse that runs upon similar lines may also be quoted:

'He who is deaf to this decree, may Osiris pursue him, may Isis pursue his wife, and Horus pursue his children' (H. Sottas, *Préservation de la propriété funéraire*, Paris, 1913, p. 123).

The mystical potency attaching to certain numbers doubtless originated in associations of thought that to us are obscure. The number seven, in Egyptian magic, was regarded as particularly efficacious. Thus we find references to the seven Hathors (*Pap. med. Berlin*, 21. 8; *Pap. Turin*, 137. 12; cf. *al ḥarrā ṭūḫai roḥ oḥparōḥ* [A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 71]):

'The seven daughters of Rē' who 'stand and weep and make seven knots in their seven tunics' (*Pap. Turin*, 135. 12 L.); and, similarly, we read of

'the seven hawks who are in front of the barque of Rē' (*ib.* 136. 3).

Oral rites have occasionally to be recited seven times (*ib.* 138. 9, 10), but the more usual number is four (*Pap. Leyden* 348, verso 3. 3, 5, 4. 10, etc.; *Pap. mag. Harris*, 7. 4), a number doubtless associated with the 'four pillars of heaven' (*cf. réscapes stūlaka* [Dieterich, p. 71]), or, as we should say, the four cardinal points.

A characteristic feature of the oral rite is its complexity. This is shown in various ways, and not least in the love manifested for enumerations. Reference has been made to the long lists of parts of the body, and to the formulæ naming all the possible enemies from whom attacks are to be feared. Similarly, lists are found of the various ways in which a man might meet his death (*Pap. Turin*, 120-121; Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, pl. 27 c), and of the various excretions through which the demon might transmit his baneful influence (*Pap. Leyden* 348, verso 6. 6 f.). This quasi-legal tautology is to be explained partly by the desire to cover all eventualities, and partly by the necessity of compelling respect for the learning and skill of the magician.

(2) *The manual rite.*—(a) *Active elements.*—The employment of images played an important part in the manual side of magic. Sometimes it is the hostile power to be destroyed that is thus counterfeited and done to death; so, in the *Book of Overthrowing Apophis*, the words of the oral rite are 'to be recited over an Apophis made of wax or drawn on a new sheet of papyrus and thrown into the fire' (*ib.* 20; cf. 22. 6).

More often the object imitated represented a means of effecting the purpose of the rite.

Thus in a spell to assist child-birth there was made 'a dwarf of clay to be placed on the forehead of the woman who is giving birth' (*Pap. Leyden* 348, recto 12. 6).

Miniature hands, seals, and crocodiles were powerful to ward off evil, doubtless by slaying it, sealing it up, or devouring it (*Zaubersprüche*, verso 2. 4; cf. *ZA* xxxix. [1901] 87). A great number of the amulets found in such abundance in Egyptian tombs were of a magical nature, all, indeed, except those whose purpose was exclusively funerary. Like the images mentioned above,

amulets can, if explicable at all, always be interpreted by the principle of sympathetic magic in one or other of its various forms (see Petrie, *Amulets*, London, 1914).

The materials of which such images and amulets should be made are nearly always specified, and it is evident that this was considered a matter of vital importance. Here we meet with a new aspect of sympathetic magic, namely the doctrine of *properties*; every plant, stone, metal, and colour possessed its own peculiar virtue, which prompted its use in the diverse cases. Wax and clay were very commonly employed, and perhaps not only because they were easy of manipulation; their plasticity may have been thought symbolic of a wide adaptability. Aetiological myths assign a divine origin to various substances; thus the bees that supply the wax are said to have sprung from tears shed by Rē (*Pap. Salt* 825, 2. 5-6, [unpublished]), and the cedar-tree emanated from the sweat of Osiris (*ZA* xlvi. [1910] 71).

Images were not immediately potent of themselves, but had to be charged with magical power in one way or another. The oral rite is usually recited over them (*dd mdo hr, passim*), and this transitory and intangible kind of contact seems to have ensured their continuous efficacy.

In a fabulous story the magician Hor, the son of Pa-nehe, made a litter with four bearers and 'pronounced writing upon them, gave them breath of respiration, and made them live' (Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 69).

Elsewhere the ceremony of 'opening the mouth,' familiar from the funerary ritual, was performed over the magical figure (*Pap. Turin*, 131. 7), and offerings and incense were presented to it in token of its now animate condition (*ib.*; *Pap. Leyden* 346, 2. 3). Drawings upon papyrus or rag were treated in exactly the same way, and seem to have been equally effective (*Pap. Leyden* 346, *ib.*; *Pap. Turin*, 31+77. 3); or the figures of the gods whose help was invoked could be sketched on the patient's hand, and licked off by some one (*Pap. Turin*, *ib.*). At times the mediating image could be dispensed with; the magician pronounced his spell, and then spat on the diseased limb (*Ebers*, 30. 17).

Magically charged amulets, images, or beads were often attached to the person whom they were designed to protect or heal; some kind of contact was a prime necessity of Egyptian magic; e.g., we read of spells that were fastened to the left foot (*Pap. Leyden* 348, verso 4. 3); but the neck was naturally the spot where most charms were worn (*Zaubersprüche*, recto 1. 3, 8. 3, and *passim*). The string or strip of rag employed for this purpose was usually tied into magical knots (*q.v.*), seven being the favourite number. Such knotted strings have often been found and are to be seen in many collections (Erman, *Zaubersprüche*, p. 31). In other lands than Egypt the idea of the magical knot is frequently to 'bind' the hostile force; but, though references to binding demons can be found in Egyptian magical texts (*Pap. mag. Harris*, verso A 6), it is not in connexion with knots. One view that seems to have been taken of knots is that they were obstacles, as, e.g., in the following words put into the mouth of a magician:

'If the poison pass these seven knots, which Horus has made on his body, I will not allow the sun to shine,' etc. (*Pap. Turin*, 125. 8).

Particularly interesting is a spell where twelve gods were invoked.

These were drawn 'on a rag of fine linen to be tied into twelve knots. Offer to them bread, beer, and burnt incense. To be placed on the neck of a man' (*Pap. Leyden* 346, 2. 3).

Here evidently each knot was put under the guardianship of a special deity, and thus formed a divinely protected barrier between the malign influence and its possible victim.

Imitative or significant actions were frequently performed with the apparatus of the magical rite; we have seen how a waxen image of Apophis was thrown into the fire and so destroyed, and similar cases could be multiplied.

At this point may be mentioned the composite stelæ known as *Cippi of Horus*; these are of comparatively late date (Saite period and after), and are covered with magical texts of the kind described above, and with sculptured figures, chief among which is the figure of Horus with his feet on two crocodiles. Such stelæ seem to have been placed in buildings for their protection, and especially to rid them of snakes and scorpions (see Golenischeff, *Maternichstele*; G. Daressy, *Textes et dessins magiques*, Cairo, 1903).

(b) *Negative or precautionary elements.*—Magical rites could not be performed at any time and under any conditions, but strict rules and restrictions had to be observed. Of these some, like the injunction to the magician to stand 'with his face to the East' (*Pap. Leyden 347*, 12. 10), are of so many different types that they elude classification. *Times and seasons*, like everything else in ancient Egypt, had their own specific properties; some days were lucky and others unlucky, in part at least through mythological associations (for such calendars on papyrus see art. CALENDAR [Egyptian], § 2). Such considerations had to be taken into special account where magical rites were concerned, and perhaps more attention was paid to the question of time than is indicated in the brief instructions usually given as to the performance of the manual rites.

Of one spell we learn that it had to be recited 'at eventide, when the sun is setting' (*Zaubersprüche*, verso 2. 7); in another case seven knots have to be tied, 'one in the morning, and another in the evening, until seven knots are complete' (*Zaubersprüche*, verso 2. 8).

Magical rites were also in demand for safeguarding men against dangerous periods of the year. As in ancient Mexico (*GB*<sup>2</sup>, pt. iv., *Oniris, Attis, and Adonis*<sup>2</sup>, London, 1914, ii. 28, n. 3), the intercalary days, in Egypt known as the five epagomenal days, were fraught with exceptional risks, against which enchantments were employed (*Pap. Leyden 346*); the user of these had to refrain from all work during the period in question (*ib.* 3. 4).

*Purity* was requisite in him who would be benefited by magic (*Book of Overthrowing Apophis*, 24. 19, etc.), just as ch. lxiv. of the *Book of the Dead* was ordained to be recited by 'one pure and clean, not having eaten venison or fish, and not having been near women.' In another place the user of a spell is charged to purify himself for nine days, and his servants are to do the same (E. Naville, 'Destruction des hommes,' line 79, in *TSBA* iv. [1876] 16).

*Secrecy* was essential in dealing with magic. In reference to a spell written on a strip of fine linen the warning is given that 'it is not to be looked at' (*Pap. Leyden 348*, recto 2. 7); of another it is said that it must not be used for any one except him for whom it was prescribed (*ib.* verso 8. 6). For similar instructions in the *Book of the Dead* see J. Baillet, *Idées morales dans l'Égypte antique*, Blois, 1912, pp. 72-75.

8. *Magic and medicine.*—Magical spells are often recommended on account of their proven efficacy; 'a true remedy on many occasions' is a formula extremely frequent in the magical papyri (e.g., *Pap. Leyden 347*, 13. 2-3). This appeal to experience indicates a desire to justify magic as a science, and hints at the possibility of a real science arising out of it. There cannot be the slightest doubt that Egyptian medicine is the direct offspring of Egyptian magic, and that it

never became really emancipated from its parent.<sup>1</sup> The medical books are seldom free from incantations, and the magical papyri are leavened with medical prescriptions (e.g., *Zaubersprüche*, recto 7. 2). In the selection of drugs the doctrine of properties undoubtedly played a great part, though the defectiveness of our evidence and the fact that medicine was in process of becoming an empirical science tend to conceal this from our observation. It is no argument against the thesis here supported that many of the herbs and drugs prescribed were actually, and were known to be, wholesome. In the first place, magic itself is not necessarily irrational in its methods, and, in the second place, even the utility of many wholesome things like onions was based upon essentially magical conceptions (see above, § 7 (1)). The exotic and abhorrent nature of many drugs cannot conceivably be explained except as due to superstitious reasons; how else could one account for the use of 'the bones of an oxyrhynchus-fish' (*Ebers*, 6. 3), or 'the urine of a male ass that has begotten another' (Griffith, *Petrie Papyri*, London, 1898, pl. 5, l. 18)? It is significant that the latter medicament occurs in a treatise on midwifery and kindred topics. One can often make a shrewd guess at the meaning of a prescription. To cure a complaint called 'the working of charms' (*hmt-s'*) the following is prescribed:

'A large beetle (*ḥpr*), whose head and wings have been cut off. To be burnt and put into fat, and then applied' (*Ebers*, 88. 18).

The point of this must surely be that, the word for beetle being derived from the verb *khōper* (*ḥpr*), 'to become,' a mutilated beetle would symbolize the frustrated achievement of a purpose; the purpose here to be frustrated was 'the working of charms.'

It must not be imagined that there was no distinction between a medical prescription and a magical rite. The former consisted mainly, if not wholly, of what may be considered as a specialized development of the manual rite, namely, the enumeration of drugs and directions for their use. The diagnosis, which is ushered in by the words 'so shalt thou say' (*dd-ḥrk*), and which sometimes precedes the list of drugs, may owe its origin to the oral rite of magic—just as the magician sometimes declares that he knows the name of the enemy. A difference is made in the medical papyri between an 'incantation' (*shinet*) and a 'remedy' (*pakhret*); the latter is, in the main, an enumeration of drugs. In the same way the physician (*sunu*) was not quite the same thing as the magician; the physician might be a layman, while the magician was a priest (below, § 9).

That even in the 'remedy' (*pakhret*) magical ideas were latent may be proved by some additional evidence. The following is explicit enough:

'Formula for drinking a remedy: Welcome, remedy, welcome, which destroyest the trouble in this my heart and in these my limbs. The magic (*hkt*) of Horus is victorious in the remedy' (*pakhret*) (*Ebers*, 2. 1-2).

We also find formulæ to be recited in applying remedies generally (*Ebers*, 1. 1-11), in using the medicine-measures (*Pap. med. Hearst*, 13. 14), in using animal fat (*ib.* 14. 4), and so forth. These formulæ seem intended to supply the place of the incantations of which most medical prescriptions have purged themselves; their reintroduction was a reactionary step.

Where, then, does medicine begin and magic end? There is no definite boundary-line. Medicine may be said to begin when incantations are no longer used. At that point medicine becomes a technique, though using means which it does not understand, and which, if it pauses to give ex-

<sup>1</sup> The writer thus agrees with the views of E. Thirmer (in art. HEALTH AND GODS OF HEALING [Greek]) against F. von Oefele and H. Schneider.

planations, it explains by superstitious reasons. So far as medicine was practised without a sense of mystery and without making appeals to faith, it was a technique of ordinary life like any other; but, wherever there was consciousness of its exceptional, occult nature, it might be said to lapse back into the domain of magic. Egyptian medicine was at its best in diagnosis and in its physiological speculations; the *materia medica*, on the other hand, remained permanently under the influence of magical conceptions.

9. The magician.—A Greek alchemistic treatise quoted by Maspero (*PSBA* xiii. [1891] 502) exactly defines the difference between the physician (*sunu*) and the practitioner of magic. The former exercises his craft ἀνὰ βιβλιν . . . μηχανικῶς, 'mechanically and by book,' while the latter is a 'priest' (*lepos*), 'acting through his own religious feeling' (δὲ τῆς ἰδίας θειοπαυσίας τοῦτον). There appears to be no common word for 'magician' (*šw*, 'charmer,' e.g., in *Ebers*, 99. 3, is very rare), and magicians certainly formed no caste of their own. It is in accordance with the homogeneity of religion and magic emphasised above (§ 2) that the priests should have been the chief repositories of magical knowledge, and particularly those priests whose function it was to be versed in the sacred writings. The subjects of many of the books kept in the library of the temple of Edfu cannot be described otherwise than as magical (see H. Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, Leipzig, 1889-90, p. 156; cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 268). The 'lector-priest' (*chrst-hab*) is specially named as empowered to perform cures (*Pap. med. Berlin*, 8. 10), as having discovered incantations (*Pap. med. London*, 8. 12), and as being endowed with the gift of prophecy (*Pap. Petersburg 1118 B*, recto 9); and the wonder-workers at the court of Cheops in the tale were all 'chief lectors' (see Erman, *Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, i. 21). A passage in the *Ebers Papyrus* (99. 2) singles out the 'priests of Sakhmet' (*wšb Sakhmet*) for special mention as skilled members of the magico-medical profession; this is because Sakhmet was a baleful goddess who manifested her wrath in inflicting disease; her priests were likely to know best how to cope with her. Priests, doctors, and sacred scribes alike received the final touches to their education at colleges called 'the house of life' (*per-onkh*); of these we know but little.

A 'chief physician' of the time of Darius describes how he was summoned by Pharaoh to restore the *per-onkh* (in Sale) 'because His Majesty knew the value of this (i.e. the medical art)' (*EA* xxxvii. [1899] 74). There was a *per-onkh* at Abydos, apparently attached to the temple (*Louvre A 93=EA* xxxii. [1894] 119). The word *ieperpaukharis* in the bilingual decrees is rendered in the demotic as 'scribes of the house of life' (see Griffith, *Rylands Papyri*, Manchester, 1900, p. 81, n. 13, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 19). Magic could be learnt at the *per-onkh* (ib.; *Pap. mag. Harris*, 6. 10).

On the whole, we receive the impression that less importance was attached in Egypt than in other lands to the personality of the magician; his powers might in some cases be due to special gifts, but, broadly speaking, the belief in magic was a tribute to knowledge, and not to the supernatural powers of certain men. The instructions appended to magical incantations usually presuppose that private individuals could use them for their own profit if only they observed the right precautions. Thus the magician's presence was not essential, and his authority lay solely in the fact that he was the possessor of magical knowledge; the epithet 'knower of things' (*rakh ikhet*) was commonly applied to him (*Bekhten Stele*, 11; *Ebers*, i. 9). This point is well brought out in a passage describing the all-wisdom of the Pharaoh Amösis:

'An unique king, whom Sothis taught, praised of the goddess of writing; the reverence of Thöth is beside him, and he gives to him knowledge of things, so that he guides scribes according to the true rule. He is one great of *hike*' (*Sethe, Urkunden*, iv. [Leipzig, 1906] 191.).

10. Celebrities in magic.—Egyptian-wise, we will begin with the gods. Thöth was the most powerful of all magicians; in the end this qualification of his gave rise to the fame of Hermes Trismegistos (q.v.; see Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 58). The skill of Thöth as a magician is associated with his reputation as the inventor of hieroglyphs and the sciences of astronomy and mathematics; in the myth of Osiris he played the part of 'physician of the eye of Horus' (*Pap. med. Hearst*, 14. 6). Isis enjoyed great fame as a sorceress, mainly on account of the charms which she devised to protect her infant son Horus (*Pap. Turin*, 31+77. 6; *Ebers*, i. 12 and *passim*). Horus himself was not devoid of magical ability, though it was mainly in his skill in warding off attacks that this was displayed; the Horus of Letopolis is described as the 'chief physician in the house of Rš' (*Pap. Turin*, 124. 5). The eye of the sun-god, which was subsequently called the eye of Horus and identified with the Uraeus-snake on the forehead of Rš and of the Pharaohs, the earthly representatives of Rš, finally becoming synonymous with the crown of Lower Egypt, was a mighty goddess, Uto or Buto by name; she is often referred to as Wëret-hike, 'she who is great of magic' (*Sethe, Untersuchungen zur Gesch. und Altertumskunde Egyptens*, v. [Leipzig, 1912] 123).

According to Manetho, King Athothis of the 1st dyn. practised medicine and composed anatomical books. Under King Zoser of the IIIrd dyn. lived the wise Imhotep, whose skill as a doctor led to his identification by the Greeks with Asclepius; like Amenhotpe, son of Hepu, a famous man of the reign of Amenophis III. (XVIIIth dyn.), Imhotep was in late times worshipped as a god (see art. HEROES AND HERO-GODS [Egyptian], II. 2). The prince Hardedef, a son of Cheops, was similarly noted for his deep learning and wise utterances; he was the reputed discoverer of various books of *hike* incorporated in the *Book of the Dead* (see Erman, *Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, i. 18). Another royal prince, who was high priest of Ptah, became the hero of many tales in which he appears as a great magician; this was Khamwëse, one of the innumerable progeny of Ramesses II. (see Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 21.). In the later Greek and patristic literature reference is made to various Egyptian magicians of note, Sochos, Paeniosiris, and, above all, Nectanebo, the last native Pharaoh, who plays an important part in the legend of Alexander the Great.

11. The nature of Egyptian magic.—The magical rite, as described in § 7, was by no means wholly irrational in its methods; indeed, granting its premisses, namely the existence of gods and demons, the theory of possession, the principles of sympathy, and the doctrine of properties, its manner of setting to work was perfectly logical and businesslike. Here, at first sight, we are face to face with a paradox; the essence of *hike* we stated to reside in its opposition to the mechanism of ordinary action (§ 1), yet now the methods of magic are declared to be simple and straightforward. The fact is that no explanation of the magical rite is afforded by the consideration of its parts either severally or collectively; its explanation can be sought only in the concept of *hike*, which is a thing apart from, and, as it were, superimposed upon, the methods and premisses of the magical rite, a sort of pervading vital principle making this what it is.<sup>1</sup> Without the concept of *hike* the magical rite would doubtless have seemed to the Egyptians no more than what to us it appears to be, a puerile, though not wholly meaningless,

<sup>1</sup> For the proof of this assertion see H. Hubert and M. Mauss, 'Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie,' in *ASoc* vii. [1902-03], esp. pp. 97-108.

combination of words and pantomime. There was perhaps once a period when even the most gifted were utterly ignorant of the limitations of their own power and that of the world outside; they saw forces which they treated personally in all kinds of external phenomena, and the law of sympathy seemed to them very good logic indeed. In this hypothetical period magic and science were undifferentiated. Later on, a distinction became gradually discernible between the simple techniques of ordinary life and the less successful or, at least, less trustworthy means by which men sought to achieve more difficult aims, and the notion of *hike*, or magical power, was precipitated. *Hike* gathered round itself just those less matter-of-fact preconceptions which were found unserviceable in ordinary life, and these became its methods. Now, the simple techniques are always able to detect, amid the complex environment in which acts are necessarily performed, the actual determining factor in their results; not so *hike*, which is therefore apt to regard the whole complex environment as essential to the achievement of its purposes. This is the reason for the meticulous attention that *hike* pays to detail, the set form of words to be recited, the restrictions as to time and place, the purity of the officiant, etc. The more restricted the domain of *hike* became and the less successful it was, the greater the necessity which it felt of insisting on its own inherent efficaciousness, and of diverting attention from its methods; hence its love of secrecy, and its use of mystic, incomprehensible jargon to enhance the impression of the wisdom lying behind it. In this context mention must be made of two more ways in which it was sought to obtain credit for *hike*, namely the appeal to antiquity and the appeal to authority.

Such and such a rite was 'found at nightfall in the forecourt of the temple of Oxyris as a secret of this goddess (Isis) by a lector of that fane; the earth was in darkness, but the moon shone upon this book, illuminating it on every side. It was brought as a wonder to King Cheops' (*Pap. med. London*, 2, 11-15).

The papyrus from which this quotation comes was written in the time of Amenophis III., more than a thousand years after the reign of Cheops. A mythical origin is assigned to other spells.

One was said to have been 'invented by Geb on his own behalf' (*Pap. med. Hearst*, 6, 11); while others were devised by Nut or Isis on behalf of Ra (*ibid.* 6, 13, 16).

A more reputable way of appraising the value of a magical rite was by appealing to the test of experience; it is often claimed for a particular spell that it has been successful on many occasions (see above, § 8). Where the claim has proved justifiable, or where it has seemed sufficiently so for the rite to pass into general use, the more mysterious elements rapidly disappear, and the rite becomes an ordinary technique; so in the case of medicine and, it may be here added, of legal oaths.<sup>1</sup> Nothing can better illuminate the nature of *hike* than the alterations which it undergoes in the course of its transformation into some ordinary technique.

**LITERATURE.**—This has been indicated in the body of the article. Of general treatises may be named E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, London, 1901; A. Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*, Berlin, 1909, ch. vii.; A. Moret, *La Magie dans l'Égypte ancienne* (*Bibliothèque de vulgarisation du Musée Guimet*, xx.), Paris, 1907; A. Wiedemann, *Magie und Zauberei im alten Ägypten* (*Der alte Orient*, vol. vi., pt. iv.), Leipzig, 1906.

ALAN H. GARDINER.

**MAGIC (Greek and Roman).—I. INTRODUCTION.**—It is practically impossible to extract anything from the great mass of magic theory and practice as certainly the particular contribution of any given people. There is no system of human thought which, in its unchanging essential

<sup>1</sup> Legal oaths are, of course, a fairly effectual way of guaranteeing truthfulness; but less because the implied curse is feared than because perjury is a criminal offence.

principles, is more primitive and, for that very reason, more cosmopolitan, more literally devoid of distinguishable national traits, than magic. Anything which might be considered indigenous is usually secondary as well as comparatively unimportant, and, in any case, can rarely be identified with certainty. This is especially true of the two great nations of classical antiquity. Here, as elsewhere, magic was believed and practised by the common man, and even the literary record of magic theory and practice begins with Homer and continues with increasing volume and particularity until the latest times. But, rich as they are, the records of classical magic are too incomplete and the possibility of filling the lacunae is too remote to warrant us in hoping that a search for the indigenous would meet with any success. We shall therefore omit all reference to this aspect of our subject. For this reason, too, as well as on account of the intimate cultural relations between Greece and Rome, it seems best to deal with the two nations as one.

**1. Magic and religion.**—From more than one point of view the civilization of classical antiquity is still quite justified in challenging comparison with that of any other period in history. No civilization has shown such remarkable ability to observe, reflect, organize, and create in so many great departments of human thought and action. And yet among all the higher civilizations of the world there is none in which magic—of all things the most relentlessly and essentially primitive—had such an abiding influence, none in which men had such a perennial interest in the subject, none in which the progress of magic from the lore of the farmer to the lucubrations of the philosopher is more clearly marked and more profusely illustrated.

The paradox, however, is only apparent. Owing to its exaggerated conservatism, the religion of both nations always remained amazingly primitive, so primitive that it was always impossible to distinguish it from magic on the basis of any essential details of ceremonial or of the generalizations from which they were derived. Even the doctrine of incantation, with all the conclusions for which it is ultimately responsible, was never distinctive of the one as opposed to the other. It is obvious, therefore, that the Greeks and Romans were always in the position of their primitive ancestors—they were utterly unable to differentiate clearly between magic and their religion on the basis of this or of any other criterion which, when seriously applied, would have left their religion unimpaired, and at the same time would have transformed their once redoubtable magic into an interesting but harmless fossil. Their only course was to cling to the ancient distinction of official recognition.

According to this distinction, 'religion is prescribed, official, an organized cult. Magic is prohibited, secret; at most it is permitted, without being prescribed' (N. W. Thomas, *EB* 11 xvii. 306, summarizing H. Hubert).

Magic cannot be distinguished from religion by the doctrine of sympathy, or by any supposed necessary sequence of cause and effect, or even by its maleficent character. Religion, then, is the orthodox, magic is heterodox, it being understood, of course, that for the Greeks and Romans the criterion of orthodoxy was the official recognition of their own State. The god must be officially recognized by the State, and his ceremonial must be the one prescribed by the official experts of the State. Other gods, and therefore their ceremonials, are heterodox. Even orthodox gods must be approached only by prescribed ceremonials.

This Græco-Roman retention of the primitive distinction between magic and religion is our only guide in establishing meaning and coherence in



the bewildering array of phenomena with which we have to deal. For instance, it will be seen at once that the only effect of this criterion, so far as magic itself is concerned, is, so to speak, to define its social position. It does not necessarily destroy or even impair the belief in the reality and power of magic as such; on the contrary, from the very nature of the distinction, it takes them both for granted. Hence the persistence of magic in a civilization otherwise so advanced as was that of classical antiquity.

We must assume this test of orthodoxy, *e.g.*, in the case of Cato's cure for a sprained hip (*de Agr.* 180). By any other test it is patently magic; but Cato did not consider it magic, or he would not have recommended it. It was orthodox, *i.e.*, it was Roman, it had an immemorial tradition in the Roman countryside; at the most, it had become secularized. By the same test the old Roman ritual for calling out and appropriating the gods of a conquered city (*Macrob.* III. ix. 7) is religion, and the operation known as 'calling down the moon' is magic. Again, the same criterion is responsible for the well-known method of raising the heterodox to the orthodox by official recognition. This device of naturalizing foreign cults and thereby embracing within the sphere of their influence heaven and hell as well as humanity, is several times illustrated in the religious history of the Romans.<sup>1</sup>

All foreign religions, therefore, were classified as magic. The foreign cult, as such, was occasionally despised, but quite as often it was thought to be full of terrible possibilities in the way of mysterious knowledge. This was especially the case if its possessors were an older nation or a nation far away in space or time. Despite their native good sense, the Greeks were much impressed by the pretentious wisdom of the East, as after them were the Romans by the complicated mummeries of the Etruscans. Nations living far away, particularly those who live at or near the place where the sun rises from the under world in the morning or goes down into it at night, are notable for their knowledge of magic. Under such circumstances as these whole nations may be endowed by nature with magic power, especially for some given thing. Remoteness in time is, if anything, a more powerful factor than remoteness in space. When a faith has been superseded, it thereby becomes magic. In Italy the term *la vecchia religione* is known to be used as a synonym for 'magic.' So the elder and alien race is apt to be looked upon, especially by those who superseded it in the same country, as a race of formidable magicians—so formidable, in fact, and, by reason of their antiquity, so much nearer the days of the gods, that they themselves are sometimes believed to have been of supernatural origin. But they are still heterodox, they belong to the old order of things, they are more or less allied to the Lords of Misrule.

One of the most characteristic features of magic is a direct result of this persistent association of the heterodox and the foreign. From the very first, there is no magician like the one from foreign parts (*Theocr.* ii. 182 and often), no magic like the imported brand. Helen's nepenthe (*Hom. Od.* iv. 219), as the poet is careful to tell us, was 'Egyptian'; the very word 'magic' suggests the influence of Persia; and to the end of the Empire the native practitioner had no vogue as compared with that of his rival who was, or pretended to be, from Egypt, Chaldaea, Colchis, India, or any other place but Rome.

It is true, of course, that 'magic is prohibited, secret; at the most, not prescribed.' But, so far as classical antiquity is concerned, these distinc-

tions seem to be secondary and derivative. Magic was prohibited because it was heterodox. The Romans, in particular, disliked secret rites of any sort, above all, foreign rites with *mysteria*, like those Greek cults so much affected by the Greeks themselves. If the Greeks objected to the secrecy of magic, it could only have been because magic itself was heterodox. So far, then, as secrecy was felt to characterize magic as opposed to religion, the ultimate source of the distinction in Greece as well as in Rome was the criterion of orthodoxy. To the same criterion is due the fact that, as a rule, men turned to magic for the things which they could not or would not ask of religion. Nor, of course, was magic necessarily maleficent; on the contrary, it might be distinctly otherwise. So long as orthodoxy was the test, magic was magic whether it happened to be white or black—and this, of course, explains why the Roman law never made any attempt to distinguish between the two.

2. Magic and legislation.—The general reputation of magic at all times was due to the same criterion; it was always illicit, it was always distrusted, it always had a bad name. And when the law stepped in—as it did at an early date in both Greece and Rome—the orthodox and the legal, the heterodox and the illegal, became synonymous terms. Magic was then criminal, and punished accordingly. The history of magic before the law began at an early period, but, so far, at least, as Greece is concerned, our records are too incomplete to give a very satisfactory idea of the question. In Greece, however, as in Rome, it concerned itself most seriously with the matter of strange religions—a burning question as soon as communication with the outside world became more intimate and extensive; still more in Rome when, owing to rapid expansion after the Second Punic War, alien beliefs and rituals came pouring in from every side. From the Decemviri to Theodosius and beyond, the Roman laws against magic were affirmed and reaffirmed, the domain of magic was at once particularized and extended, new laws were frequently passed, and the jurisprudence of the subject grew steadily in volume and importance. And, so far as the legal aspect of magic is concerned, it may be emphasized anew that, whether in Greece or in Rome, the ultimate foundation and guide of procedure was always the old criterion of orthodoxy. It is clear, for instance, that the characteristic tendency of the law to extend its scope was both suggested and guided by this criterion. It was particularly useful whenever the law felt obliged to take cognizance of some system of activity more or less mental that was 'good in parts'—such, *e.g.*, as divination (*q.v.*), which stands on the border line between magic and religion, or alchemy (*q.v.*), which hovers in like manner between magic and science, or, again, certain types of mysticism (*q.v.*), which were more or less an amalgam of magic and logical thinking. In every case what was to be considered legal and what illegal was determined by official recognition. Above all, the inclusion of foreign rites and religions within the legal concept of magic was an obvious and entirely logical deduction from the test of orthodoxy. Not only so, but by the same test it was equally obvious that precisely those foreign rites were the most serious question in magic. How, *e.g.*, shall we define the legal status of the native religions of the provinces? The final solution was again entirely logical. The Emperor was the civil and religious representative of the State. He was therefore entitled to investigate them and to make such use of them as seemed proper. But this privilege was his alone, and only by virtue of his office. In the hands of private individuals it was

<sup>1</sup> E. Schmidt, 'Kultübertragungen,' in *RFV* viii. 2 [1909].

considered dangerous, and no doubt it was largely for this reason that magic was so rigorously proscribed and its illegality so sedulously kept alive.<sup>1</sup>

The recorded history of Roman legislation on the subject of foreign rites begins with the *causa cèlebre* of its type, the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* in 186 B.C. (Livy, xxxix. 8-19),<sup>2</sup> in connexion with which it was ordered that all books of divination and magic should be destroyed. The history of Roman legislation on the subject of magic, whether directed against specific practices or against the art as a whole, begins with the Decemviri (*Leges XII. Tab.* viii. 8a).<sup>3</sup> Notable in later days was the *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficiis* in 82 B.C.<sup>4</sup> Dio Cassius (xlix. 43) tells us that in 32 B.C. the triumvirs, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, banished the magicians and *astrologi*, and refers (lii. 36) to a speech by Mæcenas against foreign religions and secret societies for purposes of magic. In A.D. 16 Tiberius banished the magicians and *mathematici*, and in the same reign L. Pitunianus was thrown from the Tarpeian Rock and P. Marcius was executed 'more prisco' outside the Porta Esquilina (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 32), and Mamerus Scaurus committed suicide to escape a suit for magic (ib. vi. 29). Under Nero, Servilia, the young daughter of Soranus, was accused of selling part of her dowry to procure the means to save her father's life by magic rites (ib. xvi. 31). The prescriptions of Tiberius were renewed by Claudius (ib. xii. 52) and Vitellius (Suet. *Vitell.* 14), and the end of official paganism was marked by the laws of Diocletian against the *malefici*, *Manichæi*, and *mathematici* (Coll. xv. iii. 1 [Huschke]). Sometimes the law prescribed special and severe punishments, and how far the law itself had extended by the 3rd cent. A.D. may be seen from the *Sententia* of Iulius Paulus<sup>5</sup> on the *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis*:

'Qui abortivus aut amatorum poculum dant, et si id dolo non faciunt, tamen mali exempli res est, humiliores in metallum, honestiores in insulam amissa parte bonorum relegantur; quod si ex hoc mulier aut homo perierit, summo supplicio addicuntur. Qui sacra impia nocturnave ut quem obcantarent, defigerent, obligarent, fecerint faciendave curaverint, aut cruci suffiguntur aut bestis obducuntur. Qui hominem immolaverint exve eius sanguine litaverint, fanum templumve polluerint bestis obducuntur, vel si honestiores sint capite puniuntur. Magice artis concilio summo supplicio addi placuit, id est, bestis oblici aut cruci suffigi. Ipsi autem magi vivi exuruntur. Libros magice artis apud se neminem habere licet; et penes quoscunque reperti sint, bonis ademptis ambustis his publice honestiores in insulam deportantur, humiliores capite puniuntur. Non tantum huius artis professio, sed etiam scientia prohibita est.' See also the *Cod. Theodos.* ix. 16, xvi. 10; *Cod. Justin.* ix. 18.

Doubtless the object of the law was or, at least, ought to have been merely to punish the abuse of magic (Plato, *Legg.* 933 D), but it went much further than that. All the old laws were revived and reinforced by new legislation as soon as, under Constantine, Christianity succeeded paganism as the official religion of the Empire. Of course, the moment the change was effected Christianity became the plaintiff and paganism the defendant in the ancient process of Religion v. Magic. It was Christianity now that was responsible for the welfare of the State in this world. But, among other things, Christianity differed essentially from paganism in the fact that it had also a keen interest in the welfare of every member of the State in the world to come. Between the two, the new representative of orthodoxy—in the hands of those who do not understand or appreciate its message and meaning, the most intolerant of all religions—thought fit to

proceed against its predecessor with a zeal worthy of a better cause and a rigour that amounted to persecution.<sup>1</sup>

The practice of the courts naturally went hand in hand with the law and was regulated by it. The charge of magic in one form or another was always a cause of action. It was perhaps most common in cases in which our plea is 'undue influence.' In Greek testamentary law, e.g., this plea was specified either as *ἐνδὲ φαρμάκων* or as *γυναὶκὶ πειθόμενος* (i.e., 'drugs,' in the ancient sense of the word, or 'persuaded by one's wife').

The best known case of this kind is the one brought against Apuleius, the famous rhetor and author of the 2nd cent. A.D., by the relatives of the impressionable old widow, Pudentilla, whom he had just married. The charge was that he had won her affections by magic, and specified practices were alleged.<sup>2</sup> The legal basis of the action was perhaps ultimately the *Lex Cornelia de Sicariis et Veneficiis* passed by Sulla in 82 B.C. The defendant conducted his own case and won it by a speech, the *de Magia*, which still survives and is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of magic in that period. It must be said, however, that for the most part the great rhetor does not touch upon the real point at issue.

Considering the comparative frequency of such litigation in everyday life, we can understand with what interest the Athenian audience listened to the famous scene in the *Andromache* of Euripides in which she is charged by Hermione, the wife of Neoptolemus, with winning his affections by the use of philtres. Her dignified and stinging reply,

'Not of my philtres thy lord hateth thee,  
But that thy nature is no mate for his.  
That is the love-charm: woman, 'tis not beauty  
That witcheth bridegrooms, nay, but nobleness'

(205 ff.; tr. A. S. Way, *Tragedies*, London, 1894-96),

is doubtless the poet's own protest against the folly of such a charge. But, if one may judge from cases still occasionally reported in the daily press, it is a charge which, old as it is, will never cease to be preferred in one form or another.

3. Derivation and definition.—All the words for 'magic' in Greek and Latin record some real or supposed fact in the history of the subject or else indicate that some particular manifestation of it was sufficiently prominent to stand for the whole.

The ordinary Greek words for 'magic' are *μαγία*, *γοητεία*, and *φαρμακία*. The last two are old and popular. The *γοητεία*, according to the derivation offered by the Greeks themselves—*ἐνδὲ τῶν γοῶν καὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀπέροις γινόμενων*—was specifically a necromancer in the original sense of that word, i.e., like the Witch of Endor, he called up the dead (*νεκρομαντεία*)—a thing which in all ages has been one of the most important specialties of the magic art. It is true that the derivation just quoted is on the face of it equally descriptive of professional mourners, and, as Hubert observes,<sup>3</sup> the two occupations are not incompatible. The *γοητεία* may very well have been both. But, as we shall see below, the old etymologist is not thinking of mourners; he is giving a very good description of a special and particular type of magic with which he himself was doubtless quite familiar. The *γοητεία* was, no doubt, much feared by the population in general, but he was also more or less a roadside charlatan, and in other respects the associations with a person of his type were such that of the three ordinary names of 'magic,' *γοητεία* appears always to have been the most distinctly pejorative. The prominence of *φαρμακία* in this connexion is due to the primitive idea that the action of any drug (*φάρμακον*)—using that word in its most extended application—<sup>4</sup> is due to magic power. In its original sense *φαρμακία* means the science which deals with the magic properties of plants and simples. Hence the *φαρμακός*—in all countries the primitive ancestor of the doctor, the apothecary, and the toxicologist (amateur or professional)—was the magician whose specialty was this particular branch of the subject, and the *φάρμακον*, i.e., the 'drug' which he prepared, was a magic charm. As such, the efficacy of the *φάρμακον* is enhanced, if not actually conditioned, by the incantation which generally is associated with some stage of its history. In most cases, too, it must be discovered, prepared, or given under certain conditions or in a certain way. Of course, its effect may be helpful or harmful according to the intentions of the giver. Hence the secondary use of the word in the sense of either a 'poison' or a 'remedy.' Homer himself generally distinguishes by the use of an adjective (*Od.* iv. 280). The origin and use of *μαγία* (Lat. *magia*), from which, through the substantivized adjective (*μάγικη μαγία*, *ars magica*), our own word is derived, are an

<sup>1</sup> T. Mommsen, 'Religionsverel nach römischen Recht,' in H. von Sybel's *Hist. Zeitachr.* lxi. [1890] 289-429, reprinted in *Germanische Schriften*, Berlin, 1906 ff., iii. 289-422.

<sup>2</sup> C. G. Bruns, *Pontes juris romani antiqui*, Freiburg, 1893, p. 180.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Collected by P. E. Huschke, *Corpus iurisprudentiae antea Justinianae*, Leipzig, 1908-11, v. xxiii. 14 ff., vol. ii. p. 149 f.

<sup>1</sup> Maury, *La Magie et l'astrologie*, p. 106 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A. Abt, 'Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die antike Zauberei,' in *RVV* iv. 2 [1908] pp. 75-344.

<sup>3</sup> In Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Magia,' p. 1499.



excellent illustration of the Greek and Roman attitude towards an alien faith to which allusion has already been made. In its original and restricted sense *magia* meant nothing more than the religion of the Persian Magi (so, e.g., Plato, *Alcib.* I. 122 A). It is well known that this faith, which was imported to Greece by the Magi (q.v.), takes rank as one of the great religions of the world. But it was imported, and had no official standing; even though impressive, it was unauthorized. Between these two facts *magia* became a general term for 'magic' as early, at least, as the 4th cent. B.C., as we see from Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ix. 17, and, perhaps, Aristotle, frag. 36<sup>1</sup> (though this is only an indirect quotation by Diog. Laert. *proem.* vi. 8), and thereafter retained no apparent traces of its specific and pretentious origin. *Magia* is perhaps the most colourless of the three words; *goetia*, except when it returns to its original and distinctive use, is a pejorative term for magic in general; *pharmakia*, when used generically, is possibly fuller than the others of vague and dreadful associations; but otherwise there seems to have been no great difference between them in current speech. Hesychius, e.g., defines *goetia* by *magia*, and for Porphyrius the general term for 'magic' is *goetia* (pejorative) and whatever may be detached from it is religion. The Mystics (e.g., Porphyr. *de Abstinentia*, ii. 40) differentiated theoretically the use of these words; they distinguish between good magic and bad magic, and enter into all sorts of subtle speculations regarding the hierarchy of demons through whose aid the good or the bad magic, as the case may be, is able to accomplish its purpose. The Alexandrian school of philosophers undertook to draw a distinction between *goetia* and the particularly pretentious *theurgy* of later days. But Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, x. 9) is too much of a practical, clear-headed Roman not to see the essential weakness of the entire theory. The worship of God, he says, is a matter of 'simplici fide atque fiducia pietatis, non incantationibus et carminibus nefariis curiositatis arte compositis, quam vel magian vel detestabili nomine goetian vel honorabilius theurgian vocant, qui quasi conantur ista decernere et illi-citis artibus deditos alios damnabiles, quos et maleficos vulgus appellat (hos enim ad goetian pertinere dicunt), alios autem laudabiles videri volunt, quibus theurgian deputant; cum sint utriusque ritibus fallacibus demonum obstricti sub nominibus angelorum.' In other words, Christianity is orthodox; therefore all else is heterodox, i.e. magic. And, whatever we call it, however we disguise it, magic is—magic. This, of course, is nothing more or less than our familiar old criterion of orthodoxy, unimpaired and unaltered by the fact that Christianity instead of paganism happens to be the official and legal standard of comparison. For the Romans themselves—at least, after the 1st cent. A.D.—the difference between the *maleficus*, the *veneficus*, the *sego*, and the *magus* was only difference of degree.<sup>2</sup>

Pliny's opinion (*HN* xxx. 2) is that magic began with medicine, and that the chief causes of further growth were the admixture of religion and astrology (*ars mathematica*)—all with intent to deceive. In the same way magic is extended to alchemy and divination (Tert. *de Idol.* 9, *de Cultu Fem.* 1f., etc.). Hubert rightly observes<sup>3</sup> that, in spite of the fact that the Chaldei and the plain magicians are in the same class, a sharp distinction should be made between astrology and magic. The business of astrology is to foretell the very things which it is the business of magic to prevent or, at least, to modify. If, therefore, magic enters into astrology, it is for that purpose (*Pap. Paris*, 2891, 2901, 2910). Hubert does acknowledge, however, that the astrologer's ceremonial in consulting the stars derives no small part of its efficacy from the fact that it has so much in common with the incantations of magic. We might, perhaps, add that the whole 'science' of astrology is based upon a type of reasoning so primitive, so nearly akin to that upon which magic itself is based, that one might be excused for failing to see sometimes where magic begins and astrology ends. There was at least one large and especially popular class of astrologers about whom there could be no doubt: the so-called *ἱερομανθράνται*, or astrological quacks, whose entire practice was founded on speculations regarding the mystic properties and powers of mere numbers. The Roman legislators were quite justified in believing that, if there was any distinction between this theory and the theory of magic incantation, it was a distinction without a difference.

It is also quite true, as Hubert insists, that alchemy should be reckoned *per se* as a science. We might add, however, that alchemy never had

a chance to be reckoned *per se*. Not until it assumed the *alias* of chemistry was it able to escape from its old associations with magic (see ALCHEMY).

It has already been noted that divination, even by the old criterion of official sanction, occupies a more or less indeterminate position between magic and religion. Indeed, *magia* and magic are so thoroughly commingled that even in antique parlance the one is often merely a synonym for the other.<sup>1</sup> In others a fairly sharp distinction is supplied by official sanction. *Nekyomantia*, for instance, was religious if used in a family cult, i.e., it was presumed that a man has the right to call up his own ancestors if he pleases. By a somewhat similar presumption it was also sanctioned in the cult of the heroes.<sup>2</sup> Under any other circumstances it is not only magic, but one of the most formidable and characteristic operations of magic. The same distinction holds good in another very important and extensive branch of divination, one in which every one was interested and which all the schools of philosophy, especially the Stoics, investigated and discussed at great length—the source, valuation, and interpretation of dreams (*δρεπωμαντία*; see DREAMS AND SLEEP, vol. v. p. 30f., and cf. Artemidorus, *Onirocritica*, a curious treatise of the 2nd cent. A.D. which still survives). The method officially sanctioned for securing true and prophetic dreams (*δρεπωμαντία*, *δρεπωμαντία*) was *incubatio*, but the magic papyri (esp. the *Pap. Lugd. Batav.*, Leyden, 1843-55, v., vi.) are full of *δρεπωμαντικά*, formulae and charms for obtaining such dreams. Hubert would also include within the sphere of magic such practices as divination *per sortes* with verses of Homer, Vergil, or the Scriptures, *φασμαγομαντία* (Athen. vi. 80 [261 F]) and, in general, any ceremonial for purposes of divination which implies the use of magic rites in our sense of the word. By that criterion, of course, we should agree with Hubert that divination in private cults was strongly tinged with magic. The same was true even of official divination, although this was when the oracles were revived in the 2nd cent. and was for historical reasons. In all these cases, however, magic was distinguished from religion by the usual criterion of official sanction.

II. MYTHOLOGICAL PERIOD.—Until the age of Pericles the history of our subject is largely confined to what Hubert calls the 'mythology' of magic. This is partly due to the fact that our record is so fragmentary and that what survives belongs to types less likely to be concerned with such a subject. But it is fairly certain that not far from the time of Pericles magic itself rapidly assumed greater importance in the everyday life of the nation. By that time the average man's faith in the old gods was rapidly diminishing; and among the factors contributing to the growth and spread of magic and kindred ideas in any people the decay of orthodox belief is by no means the last to be considered.

1. The magicians.—Among mythical magicians, the Telchines (or Telchines), the Dactyli, the Curetes—and in connexion with the Curetes the Corybantes (see KOURETES AND KORYBANTES)—hold a position which amply illustrates the fundamental ideas about magic already mentioned. The first three were reckoned the primitive pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greek lands—the Telchines, of Rhodes (Strabo, p. 472; Diod. Sic. v. 55, though here, as with the others, there is a tendency to confusion in names and places of origin); the Dactyli, of Cretan or Phrygian Ida (Strabo, p. 355; Apoll. Rhod. i. 1129); and the

<sup>1</sup> ed. V. Rose, Leipzig, 1886.

<sup>2</sup> T. Mommsen, *Röm. Strafrecht*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 639 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1496.

<sup>1</sup> C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829, p. 632.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 286; L. Deubner, *De Incubatione*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 6.

Curetes, of Acarnania.<sup>1</sup> As such, they were all regarded as servants of the gods and, indeed, as themselves more or less divine; and, in some cases, they actually had a cult.<sup>2</sup> Even the Telchines, a synonym of spitefulness in the folklore of Greece, were in their time founders of cults (Diod. Sic. v. 55; cf. Paus. ix. xix. 5). But they all belong to the old order, they are all heterodox, they are all classed as *yoῖfres* (Nonn. xiv. 36 f.; Strabo, p. 601).<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the Telchines are inimical to the gods and spiteful towards men. They use the water of the Styx in their charms (Nonnus, *Dionys.* xiv. 36); they are malignant sorcerers, who wither the plants, ruin the crops, and make barren the domestic animals.

Most notable is the position of these clans in the history of the arts. As the Cyclopes were the servants of Hephaestus, so these semi-divine corporations of smiths were the first workers in iron and copper, gold and silver; in fact, they were the inventors of metallurgy. Hence the Telchines in particular are aptly compared by W. Pape<sup>4</sup> to the *Kobolde* of Germanic mythology. These clans of demoniac master magicians know all the secrets of nature. The Dactyli were masters of music and of the healing art. They taught Orpheus (Diod. Sic. v. 64) and, long afterwards, Pythagoras. Paionius, Iasius, Akesidas, the three great physicians of the epic, are all Dactyli. Later, they were regarded as inventors of the famous *Ephesia Grammata* (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 15 [PG viii. 781]). The Centaurs Chiron and Nessus are also masters of the healing art. The gift of prophecy, though naturally common to all by reason of their magic powers, is especially associated with the Curetes. Among all nations the most notable symptom of the power to prophecy is an ecstatic state of mind. The assumed origin and pattern of the Corybantic worship, the best known and most widely spread cult of this nature among the Greeks and Romans, was the wild noise and clatter of the armed dance of the Curetes around the baby Zeus—really a primitive spell, an *ἀπορροαῖος*, to keep the child from harm (see KOURETES and KORYBANTES).

The great individual magicians of Greek mythology are Prometheus (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 845; Val. Flac. vii. 356), Agamedes,<sup>5</sup> Melampus (Apollod. ii. ii. 2), Cēnone (ib. iii. xii. 6), Pasiphae (ib. iii. xv. 1), Agamede or Perimede (Roscher, s.v.; Theoc. ii. 16 and schol.), Circe (Roscher, ii. 1193), and Medea (ib. s.v.). The special, though not the exclusive, interest of all is *φάρμακλα*. Prometheus, the wise and kindly Titan, belongs to the old régime. Melampus comes from Thessaly, the distant land of magicians. All the rest (except Cēnone, and even she is a water-nymph) are in some way connected with the sun or—which amounts to the same thing—with the sea or the moon. Agamedes is the grandson of Poseidon. The rest are descendants of Helios. Agamede is also the beloved of Poseidon. The greatest of all are Circe and Medea—both of the seed of Helios and Poseidon, both from Colchis, the distant land where the sun-god himself rises at dawn from the ocean stream.

*Circe.*—In the Homeric account—the most marvellously correct and sympathetic portrayal in all literature of her curious, abnormal, not quite human type—Circe dwells far away in the mystic and trackless seas. Cruel, but no more consciously cruel than the child who separates some luckless fly from its wings, this *φάρμακλα*, whose special power is metamorphosis, amuses herself with enticing such wandering mariners as come within her reach to drink magic potions which straight-

way turn them into swine. Like any other queen of the mermaids, Circe is unmoral rather than immoral. Nothing could be more in harmony with her type than her first meeting with Odysseus and their subsequent life together, or than the fact that, in the long run and all things considered, the Wanderer never had a more disinterested friend among women.

*Medea.*—Medea is a relative of Circe and, like Circe, was sometimes worshipped as a goddess (Hea. *Theog.* 956 ff.; Aloman, cited by Athenag. *Legat. pro Christ.* 14); in fact, the Romans identified her with Angitia and the Bona Dea (Macrob. i. xii.; Serv. on *Æn.* vii. 750). Of all mythical magicians she is most distinctly the sorceress, and her powers as such are the most varied and terrible. As Hubert says,<sup>1</sup> she is evidently the most highly developed personality in a group of homonyms. It was therefore the constant tendency of tradition to make her the originator of rites and charms which previously had no definite pedigree at all or were attributed to some more obscure rival. At all events, in song and story, in the long annals of magic itself, there never has been a sorceress to compare with Medea. Medea, the beautiful and awful Colchian, as awful as her mistress the goddess of the crossways, Medea *καυκάσιος*, daughter of Æetes and granddaughter of the sun-god, is still the arch-enchantress of all the Occident. She is first and foremost a *φάρμακλα*. It is therefore particularly, though not exclusively, from her knowledge of *φάρμακλα* that her power is derived. Her box of magic simples is often mentioned (Apoll. Rhod. iii. 802, iv. 25), and in art she is often represented as holding it in her hand. Her charms are innumerable.<sup>2</sup> She can restore youth, bestow invulnerability, lull the dragon of the golden fleece to slumber, quiet the storms, make the rivers pause in their courses, call down the moon from heaven, etc. Indeed, Apollonius's description (iv. 1685-72) of her procedure when, from the deck of the Argo, she cast the evil eye on the giant Talus far away on the cliffs of Crete and brought him down to his death is enough to chill one's blood. But Medea is also beneficent, and K. Seeliger (in Roscher) even suggests that this was really her primitive character. She heals the wounds of the Argonauts, cures Heracles of his madness, frees the Corinthians from a famine, and is even a prophetess.

Even in the fancy of the unlettered her memory never fades. On the contrary, the popular tradition of her continued to grow in its own way (Tib. i. ii. 51, note, ed. K. F. Smith, New York, 1913). Special feats of magic were supposed to have been her invention (e.g., Paus. ii. xii. 1), and, as the line just cited from Tibullus suggests, we may be sure that the *libri*

<sup>1</sup> *carminum valentium*

*Refra coelo devocare sidera*

of Canidia to which Horace refers (*Epod.* xvii. 4) contained more than one charm claimed to be Medea's own. So, too, the magic plants and simples for which Thessaly was so famous were supposed to have sprung up in the first place from the box of charms lost by Medea as she was passing over that land with her winged dragons (schol. Aristoph. *Nubes*, 749; Aristides, i. p. 76 (Dindorf)). Her fame in the written word is unique. We are obliged to agree that she never lived among men; she was merely a child of popular fancy and the foster-child of a long line of literary artists few of whom were men of transcendent genius; and yet she emerges as perhaps the most wonderful woman in all classical antiquity. Poets, historians, orators, philosophers, even unimpressible grammarians

<sup>1</sup> Roscher, ii. 1582.

<sup>2</sup> Lobeck, p. 1181 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*, Brunswick, 1875, s.v. *Telchines*.

<sup>4</sup> Deubner, p. 18, n. 7.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. VIII.—18

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1498.

<sup>2</sup> Roscher, ii. 2483, for list and references.

and commentators—few fail to mention her. Ovid never escaped from her spell. From Homer to the last feeble echoes of rhetoric, and again in the renaissance of the modern world, hers is a dominant personality, and the story of her love and her lover, her betrayal and her terrible revenge, has never grown old or lost its interest and charm.

As we might guess, Medea is the typical Græco-Roman enchantress. Her connexion with Hecate, her methods of discovering, securing, preparing, and administering her *φάρμακα*, and the large preponderance of *φάρμακα* itself in her theory and practice of magic are all typical of every other enchantress both in literature and in life from Homer to the end of the classical world.

2. Their methods.—*φάρμακα* are either to be swallowed or to be applied outwardly as salves or plasters. The distinction is medical, but it is also Homeric, and applies equally well to magic at any time. Circe uses a salve to restore her victims to human shape (*Od.* x. 391 f.); Medea uses another to render Jason invulnerable (*Apoll. Rhod.* iii. 1041 f.), and still another—in the form of an aspersion—to put the dragon to sleep (*ib.* iv. 156); in the old Lesbian folk-tale Aphrodite gave Phaon a box of salve which, when applied as directed, gave him youth and surpassing beauty (*Ælian, Var. Hist.* xii. 18; *Serv. on Æn.* iii. 279; *Palaeph.* 49; *Lucian, Dial. Mort.* ix. 2; *Roscher, s.v. 'Phaon'*). The shirt of Nessus and the robe of Creusa belong to the same type. Pamphila (*Apul. Met.* iii. 21) went so far as to have a box filled with little caskets, each containing a special salve for a given metamorphosis.

Quite as ancient and characteristic is the *φάρμακον* taken as a drink. So Helen, herself a sorceress, administered her Egyptian nepenthe (*Od.* iv. 220-232); so Circe effected all her transformations (*ib.* x. 237); so Medea performed some of her feats. And here, again, the method is typical of later times. One branch of it—the use of *πότρυς* or *pocula amatoria*, i.e. drinks to inspire love—is perhaps the commonest and most characteristic feature of all ancient magic. It is to be noted here that in Circe's case the process is not completed until she touches the victim with her *πάσσαλος*, or magic wand. In art Medea is frequently represented with a wand; with a wand Athene makes Odysseus look young again (*Od.* xvi. 172); so Hermes overpowers our senses (*Il.* xxiv. 343; *Od.* v. 47); and, as every one knows, to this day no magician's outfit, even if he is nothing more than an ordinary sleight-of-hand performer, is complete without this ancient and dramatic accessory. The use of the wand seems to be an application of the doctrine of sympathy. It facilitates the transfer of the magician's power to the object upon which he wishes to exert it. But in all cases the wand is a help rather than an actual necessity. Except, perhaps, in the case of the gods just mentioned, who, as such, are too powerful to need it, the really essential thing is the *φάρμακον*, and, as we have seen, the Græco-Roman theory of magic presupposes that Circe had already prepared her *φάρμακα* to the accompaniment of the proper charm, and that Helen's nepenthe had been similarly treated either by herself or by the specialists from whom she had procured it.

The same rules hold good for *φάρμακα* in the art of healing. The sons of Autolycus bind up the wound of Odysseus, and stop the flow of blood with an *ερασιδίη* (*Od.* xix. 457); the divine physician, Asclepius, follows the same methods (*Pind. Pyth.* iii. 52; cf. iv. 217; *schol. Isthm.* vi. 53; cf. *Soph. Œd. Col.* 1194 [Jebb]), and at all times the use of incantation with a remedy was so characteristic that one of our richest sources for the study of *φάρμακα* as magic is the works of the physicians

from Hippocrates to Marcellus. Not that men like Hippocrates and Galen were much impressed by the magic of medicine; but their patients were, and any good doctor learns that his most powerful allies are the patient's own determination to recover and his belief that he is going to succeed. In popular medicine, of course, the survival of magic is much more marked. Here, too, the practice of pre-Periclean times is typical. The case of Iphiclus (*Apollod.* i. ix. 12; *Roscher*, ii. 306) is an excellent example.

For ten years Iphiclus could have no children. At last he consulted Melampus the seer. Melampus, whose specialty, like that of Mopsus the Argonaut (*Apoll. Rhod.* iii. 916 ff.), was the language of birds, consulted the vulture. The vulture said that ten years before, while castrating rams, Iphiclus had threatened his father Phylacus with the knife. It was then discovered that the knife had at that time, and presumably by Phylacus himself, been struck into the tree with which the life and well-being of Iphiclus were bound up,<sup>1</sup> and that it had stuck there ever since. The knife was removed, the rust scraped off and prepared as a *φάρμακον*, and, when Iphiclus had taken it as prescribed, he immediately recovered his powers. Similarly, the wound of Telephus could be cured only by the rust on the spear of Achilles by which the wound had originally been inflicted. The principle is, of course, frequently illustrated in the later history of Græco-Roman magic, and still survives in our own homely saying that 'the hair of the dog cures his bite.'

Other branches of magic referred to in this period are equally typical. According to Homer (*Od.* x. 516 ff.), Odysseus learned from Circe how to call up the dead, and the ceremonial of *nekymantia*, as the poet pictures it, always remained practically the same. Indeed the antics of Empedocles, as described by *Diog. Laert.* (viii. 59, 62 ff.), show clearly that the type of the *νεκυστής* became finally fixed at a very early period. Again, the bag of winds given by Æolus to Odysseus (*Od.* x. 16 ff.) repeats the symbolism of wind and weather magic in all times and countries.<sup>2</sup> The same is true of the primitive rustic magic attributed to the Telchines. Finally, the love-charm known as 'drawing down the moon' was certainly familiar long before the time of Sophron, who, according to *Suidas*, was a contemporary of Xerxes. Presumably this charm was from the first looked upon as the special property of the Thessalian witches. At all events, the idea was firmly fixed in the time of Aristophanes (*Nubes*, 749) and was never afterwards forgotten.

III. FOREIGN INFLUENCES.—We have seen that, in conformity with the law of distance in time or space or both, the early Greeks attributed special magic powers to their alien predecessors, the Telchines, Dactyli, and Curetes—apparently, too, the Pelasgi—and that unusual activity and ability in magic were attributed to what at the time were felt to be such distant countries as Colchis, Egypt, Thessaly, and even the Islands. As time went on and the horizon of the known world became correspondingly wider, such local centres became *pari passu* more and more distant, and the strange tribes of the African deserts, the mysterious nations of the Far East, and the still more mysterious peoples of the Far North took their turn as redoubtable magicians.

But the primacy always remained with Thessaly. In the time of Aristophanes as in the time of Apuleius, Thessaly was *par excellence* the realm of magic and magicians. The literature is full of it, and evidently the literature was in this respect a faithful reflexion of average opinion in the world at large. Numberless passages might be cited to show that in the Athens of Pericles, as long afterwards in the Rome of Augustus, the average professional enchantress found it 'good business' to advertise herself as a 'genuine Thessalian.'

Orphism.—Thrace too, though Phrygia (*HN* xxx.

<sup>1</sup> W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1877, p. 30 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *GB*, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. §19 E.

1f.) denies it, was another famous locality for magic. But Thracian magic, as Hubert warns us,<sup>1</sup> was really another name for Orphic magic. Now Orphism itself was not essentially magic; on the contrary, it was not only a religious movement but a religious movement of the most momentous importance in the spiritual development of classical antiquity and ultimately of the entire Western world (see ORPHISM). But it was heterodox and, therefore, 'magic.' This seems to be the first great and definite example within historical times of the impingement of a strange religion on Greek orthodoxy. Aristophanes and his fellow poets make all manner of fun of the Orphics, and such a passage as Euripides, *Cyclops*, 639 ff. (cf. Plato, *Rep.* 364 E), shows that Orpheus, like Musaeus, had already become an inventor of magic, a sort of protomagician and doctor.<sup>2</sup> Finally, Orpheus the magician, as he appeared to the popular mind of the 5th cent. B.C., became a character of great importance in the mystic magic of later days,<sup>3</sup> the rites of the Orphics were associated with those of the Chaldaei, the Ophites claimed Orpheus as their founder, and he was even made one of the founders of astrology and alchemy. Indeed, as Hubert says,<sup>4</sup> it is often difficult to distinguish between Orphic texts and magic texts. Further confusion was caused by the lustral ceremonies peculiar to Orphism, and to the association of Orpheus with the cult of Selene and Hecate. So far as the average man was concerned, the distinction between the *dyōptra* and the *μύσται* and the unattached priests of Orphism (Plato, *Rep.* 364 B; Theophr. *Char.* xxx. [xvi.])<sup>5</sup> was practically negligible. The standing charge against them was their emphasis on *mysteria*. But Orphism itself suffered from the fact that, being a strange religion, it was at once classed as mere magic. As such, it had no standing and inevitably began to deteriorate. It justified more and more its new name of ordinary magic, and its adherents assumed more and more the habits and point of view of ordinary magicians. On the other hand, ordinary magic was enriched and enlarged, as usual, by contact with new principles and methods of procedure. Here, of course, we have one important reason for the incomparable wealth and variety of Graeco-Roman magic.

The Magi.—But of all these foreign influences on native magic the religion of the Persians, i.e. of the Magi, was perhaps the most important. At any rate, in the ordinary opinion of later times it was the type of all such influence in general. An almost immediate result, e.g., of absorption by its native rival was the designation of the new combination as *magia*. As we have seen, this was not later than the middle of the 4th cent. B.C.; we are therefore safe in assuming that by that time the Greeks had already drawn the inevitable corollary, afterwards generally accepted, that the original fountain-head of the new combination was Zoroaster, the Persian. The intrusion of Zoroaster upon magic is characteristically reflected in the later history of the subject. Thus, as it was popularly believed in the ancient world that great scholars and sages—especially if, like Pythagoras, Epimenides, Democritus, and even Plato, they had also travelled in foreign parts and had been vouchsafed the ineffable mysteries of the Oriental religions—were thereby mighty magicians, if not actually the first to reveal their wondrous art to the world at large (Val. Max. VIII. vii. 7, ext. 2; Solinus, 3; *HN* xxx. 3 f., xxiv. 156 ff., xxv. 13 ff.;

Plut. *Sympos.* viii. 8; Aul. Gell. x. 12; Apul. *de Mag.* 27, 31; Diog. Laert. ix. 7; Lucian, *Necyomantia*, 6; Apoll. Tyan. *Ep.* xvi), we now hear that Pythagoras was a pupil of Zoroaster; indeed, we are told still later that he was also a pupil of Zaratas the Chaldean (Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, p. 471). Democritus broke into the tomb of Dardanus in order to secure the wondrous MSS buried with the defunct; and others say that, after being initiated by the Persian Osthane, he became one of the fountain-heads of the tradition of alchemy.

Of these Persian sages associated with the tradition of Graeco-Roman magic the most famous was Osthane (*HN* xxx. 8, etc.). His special prominence was partly due to the belief that he had committed to writing all the voluminous and unutterably precious but, until his time, entirely oral tradition of ancient magic (*ib.*). The first book on medical magic was attributed to him (*ib.* xxviii. 6), and also certain apocryphal books on alchemy.<sup>1</sup> Of all the authors on magic he is the most frequently referred to, and his name may be found cited as an important authority in 'dream-books' still for sale.

As we shall see, all this foreign influence on magic was much discussed by the philosophers (Diog. Laert. *proem.* 1). One of the most notable contributions must have been the so-called *Μαγικός*, usually attributed to Aristotle (*Frag. Aristot.*, ed. Rose, frag. 32 ff.). Suidas (*s.v.* 'Antisthenes') does well to doubt Aristotelian authorship, for the symptomatically childish statements referred to it are eminently uncharacteristic of that residuary legatee of Hellenic thought, the hard-headed and highly intellectual Stagyrte.

IV. *ITALIC MAGIC*.—The traditional history of Italic magic is not so well attested, but the assumption that, generally speaking, it was quite the same as that of Greece is fully supported by such testimony as survives. The first Roman reference to magic is the law of the Twelve Tables ('QVI FRVGES EXCANTASSIT. . . NEVE ALIENAM SEGETEM PELLEKERIS')<sup>2</sup> which forbids the transference—by magic—of the crops growing in other people's fields to your own. This primitive and universal explanation of the reason why the wheat-ears in your neighbour's field are full of grain and yours are not never died out among the Romans. It is illustrated by Pliny's typical anecdote of one Furius Chresimus (*HN* xviii. 41), and as late as the 6th cent. A.D. we are told by Agobardus of Lyons, *de Grandine et Tonitruis*, 2 (*PL* civ. 148), that in his time the belief was current that the witches had formed a sort of trust and were transporting all the crops in air-ships to a land with the significant name of 'Magonia.'

A certain amount of magic of this primitive type is preserved by the Elder Cato (*de Agr.* 70 f., 73, 96, 102, 127, 156-160) and Varro (*de Re Rust.* I. ii. 27) and is more or less discernible in later authors (e.g., *HN* xi. 5, xxviii. 4; Sen. *Quaest. Nat.* iv. 7; Serv. on *Ecl.* viii. 99; Aug. *de Civ. Dei.* viii. 10; Pallad. i. 35). It will be observed that the only difference here between magic and religion is that religion is officially sanctioned, while magic is not. The effect of the law of the Twelve Tables is simply to establish this distinction from the legal point of view.

Divination, as usual, occupies a more or less indefinite position between religion and magic. Hence *necyomantia* was practised to a certain extent by private individuals, and Cicero's accusation of Vatinius (*in Vatini.* vi. 14) is not so extraordinary as it sounds.

<sup>1</sup> M. Berthelot and E. Ruelle, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Paris, 1888, II.  
<sup>2</sup> Bruns, p. 80.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1490.

<sup>2</sup> For formulae attributed to Orpheus see E. Abel, *Orphica*, Leipzig, 1886; E. Wünsch, *Rhein. Mus.* iv. [1900] 78.

<sup>3</sup> *Orphica*, 974 ff.; *Lithica*, 50; A. Dieterich, *Abraas*, Leipzig, 1891.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1490.

<sup>5</sup> Lobeck, p. 625.

The usual term for a magician is *maleficus*, but the word does not occur in the law until Diocletian.<sup>1</sup> *Veneficium* is the generic name for any magic ceremony, whether legal or illegal, and *veneficus* or *venefica* as the epithet of a magician is used in the same way. The *magus* in Cicero's time was still more or less associated with his Persian origin, but with the first year of Tiberius<sup>2</sup> he comes under the ban of the law, and after Trajan's time the word was applied to any one who practised illegal magic (Ood. Theodos. ix. 16. 4; Cod. Justin. ix. 18. 7). *Saga*, 'wise woman,' is probably one of the oldest words for a 'witch' in the language, and the fact that it also means a 'bawd' is a sufficient indication of the *saga's* social position as well as of her specific functions as a magician. She is one of the standard characters of the Roman elegy. *Striges* (*strige*, Petron. 68; Ital. *streghe*), lit. 'screech owls,' was a name for witches which records the popular Roman explanation of vampires.

As the Greeks looked upon Thessaly, so the old Romans appear to have looked upon Etruria, as a land of magic and magicians. Among other accomplishments, the Etrurians knew how to call up the dead, bring on rain, and discover hidden springs (Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Aquilax'). So, too, such ancient and mysterious peoples as the Sabines, Marsi, and Paeligni were particularly famous for certain magic powers (Verg. *Æn.* vii. 758; Hor. *Epod.* v. 76, xvii. 29, 60, *Sat.* i. ix. 29 f.; *HN* xxi. 78; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 141 f.). The Romans saved the Etruscan *haruspicina* at an early date by naturalizing it. Cato (*de Agr.* v. 4) classes it with the rituals of the *augures*, *harioli*, and *Chaldæi* as a matter which any solid farmer would do well to avoid; but, although he himself was doubtless unaware of it, his own charm for a sprained hip has a suspiciously foreign sound. Even then Roman magic had been exposed for some time to the influx of foreign religions which set in soon after the Second Punic War; the overpowering influence of Hellenism began still earlier; and, as we have seen, Greek magic itself had been thoroughly commingled and overlaid with foreign elements. Finally, our principal Roman source for the details of magic practice is the poets—and the poets confine themselves for the most part to the Greek tradition. The result is that after Cato's time we are dealing not so much with Greek magic or Roman magic as with the magic of the Græco-Roman Empire.

Before referring to the ancient literature connected with this subject—originally enormous and still formidable—it should be observed that no small amount of magic of a certain type had already passed into the category of what Hubert aptly calls 'magic éternelle,'<sup>3</sup> i.e. magic too old to have a definite origin, and so common that the fact that it was ever magic at all has long since been forgotten—in short, magic that has been secularized and is reckoned merely so much scientific knowledge already acquired. This explains why Pliny, a hard-headed Roman who had no use whatever for what he would define as magic, is for us a principal source for those magic formulae and incantations which long usage had made a part of medicine and the various sciences with which he deals. And to a greater or less extent similar material may be found in any other ancient authority who deals with the same matters. One of the most important themes of Græco-Roman science was the tradition of the given subject. Perhaps this explains the curious fact that in the course of time the very word *phusis* itself acquired the secondary meaning of 'magic.'

For these as well as for other reasons already given, few sources are so valuable to the student of Græco-Roman magic as the ancient treatises concerned with medicine, especially if, like Pliny, the author is an inveterate collector of useful information, or if, like the *de Medicamentis* of Marcellus, the book is intended for home use. One of the most notable and characteristic develop-

ments of antiquity, especially during and after the Alexandrian age, was the extent to which every conceivable subject of a scientific or quasi-scientific nature was treated as literature, particularly as a theme for verse. In such cases whatever magic there was in the subject was rarely forgotten. Valuable sources for the magic of medicine, therefore, are the *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* of Nicander (even more famous were the lost poems on the same subject by Æmilius Macer) and the long passage on snakes in Lucan, ix. 607-937, which doubtless owed much to Macer. Particularly valuable, too, are those writers who deal with some homelier branch of medicine, such as the art of the veterinary—like Palladius and the authors of *Hippiatrica* and the *Mulomedicina*. Especially notable among physicians are Ætius of Amida, Theophrastus Nonnus, and Alexander of Tralles, but, above all, Cyranides and Dioscorides. Scribonius Largus and Serenus Sammonicus also might be considered. In short, any ancient doctor, however wise or learned, is likely to contribute something to medical magic.

The writers on agriculture and kindred themes (e.g., Cato, Varro, Columella, the author of the *Geoponica*, Gargilius Martialis), the writers on botany, beginning with Theophrastus (*Historia Plantarum*), the naturalists, and the writers of *phusis*, like Neptunianus, are valuable. The same is true of antiquarians like Gellius and Macrobius, of the *Paradoxographi*, of the *Agrimensores*, and of the *Paroemiographi*. In short, omitting for the present that large and important class of writers who deal with the subject merely as a literary asset, any ancient author, no matter what his theme may be, is likely to contribute something to our knowledge of contemporary magic.

It is the philosophers, however, especially the philosophers of a certain type, who are most intimately associated with the most remarkable phase in the history of our subject. We have already seen at how early a date the spiritual life of antiquity began to feel the impact of foreign ideas and systems. The Orphics, the Magi, the worship of Mithra, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Phœnicians, the Egyptians, the Hebrews—these are merely the most important. And the process was facilitated to an indefinite extent by the conquests of Alexander, as it was again later by the extension of Roman power to whatever seemed worth while in the way of territory. Laws were passed and, as we have seen, were severely enforced. But they appear to have been practically powerless. The classical world was a babel of creeds, and in the time of Augustus the great capital was alive with a dozen different kinds of magicians, from the lowly *saga* to the impressive *Chaldæus*. As yet the average man of birth and education was not, as one might say, dangerously affected by these different varieties of heterodoxy; but already powerful disintegrating influences had long been at work. As early as three hundred years before Augustus, the great tide of mysticism and related ideas was already rising. Orphism was prominent in it. But Orphism (and, for that matter, any other specific creed that one might name) was perhaps quite as much a symptom as a cause. Spiritual unrest was world-wide. Men needed new wine, and the old bottles could not contain it. The craving which for generations had been more or less vague grew in volume and intensity, and finally reached its acme not far from the beginning of the 2nd cent. of our era. There were creeds then—like those of Isis and Mithra—that would seem to have just missed becoming great religions of the future. There were men, too, in that period—e.g., Apollonius of Tyana and the Peregrinus of Lucian—who were philosophers of the contemporary type,

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Strasrecht*, p. 640, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 640, n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1501.



and posed as the more or less inspired founders of creeds—all charlatans, of course, but not entirely so; and it is not altogether inconceivable that the names of some of these men might have gone ringing through the ages instead of being merely an object of occasional scholastic contemplation.

**Mysticism.**—The unusual prominence of magic in this period is symptomatic and due to a number of causes. There was, of course, the ignorant lower class, who always believe in magic. But there was also a higher class, fairly well educated—heavily recruited in a period like this—who had lost their faith in orthodoxy, but who lacked the character to seek the truth elsewhere and the continuity of purpose to attain it. They preferred to give themselves up to whatever promised the incredible—in a way sufficiently dramatic and interesting to gratify the taste for novelty. Under such circumstances there is always another class ready to cater to this form of intellectual and spiritual dissipation. Both these classes—the willing deceivers and the willingly deceived—are pictured to the life in Lucian's admirable skit, the *Philopseudes*, i.e. 'Liars for the love of it.' A few, of course, ridiculed the whole matter; the most notable example is Lucian himself, who has been well named 'the Voltaire of antiquity.' Others undertook to demolish magic by argument; chief among these were the Sceptics, the Cynics, and the Epicureans, i.e. those who did not believe in orthodoxy, and therefore, by our familiar criterion, were not logically driven to accept the reality of heterodoxy. Finally, however, there were also others—especially the Gnostics and the Alexandrian school of philosophy—who, after honest and conscientious investigation, became responsible for the most remarkable development of magic in Græco-Roman times. This is the magic of mysticism in its various forms. Among the most important authorities for this aspect of the Alexandrian school are Porphyrius (*de Abstinence et Magia*) and Proclus (*de Sacrificio et Magia*). The theory, as Hubert observes,<sup>1</sup> is one in which the philosophical and the religious elements are still imperfectly differentiated. It is a synthesis of all the known methods of acting on the powers of the supernatural world. It is halfway between religion and ordinary magic, and capable of moving in either direction. The philosophers, of course, emphasized the religious character of the combination, but, as Augustine (*loc. cit.*) saw, and as Porphyrius himself acknowledged (quoted by Eus. *Præp. Evang.* v. 10), they could make no satisfactory distinction between *goetia*, *magia*, and *theurgia*. Their principal criterion was the character and intentions of the individual performing the given ceremony—a criterion hard to apply and of no real value in itself. Their *theurgia* became dissociated from religion; its position in society, like that of the *theurgia* of the old Egyptians, was not such as to give it the character of a religion; in fact, even without it the Alexandrian philosophy had all the outward appearance of magic. The attack on Apuleius was supported more by the various initiations of which he was so proud and the sanctity of the traditions which he invoked than by any specific acts of magic with which he was charged. *Theurgia* did afterwards enter religion, but it entered by the Gnostics, not by the philosophers—and this only in so far as the Gnostics who transformed it into a cult were recognized as a religious organization. So, too, the cult of Mithra gave a religious character to theories and ceremonies that in Pliny's time (*HN* xxx. 17 f.) were described as magic. On the other hand, it was always difficult to distinguish between the Ophites and the regular associations of magicians.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1501.

<sup>2</sup> Dieterich, p. 149.

Theurgical philosophy was violently attacked by the Sceptics, Epicureans, and Cynics (Philostr. *Apoll. Tyann.* vii. 39). Among the most important works were the *Karà Mágwv* of the Epicurean Celsus (probably the adversary of Origen, and the one to whom Lucian dedicated his *Pseudomantis*), and the *Γοήτων Φυρά* of the Cynic Ennomaus. The *Πρὸς Μαθηματικούς* of Sextus Empiricus still survives, and it is unusually dreary reading. Like Lucian (e.g., in his *Alexander seu Pseudomantis*, *Demonax*, *Philopseudes*, etc.), they attacked not only magic, but everything marvellous in either religion or mythology. Lucian feels that the wandering priests of the Syrian goddess are no better than any other magicians. All magic is a mere pretence, all magicians are hypocrites, rascals, and charlatans, whose object is to play on the credulity of the average man.

**The Christians.**—The attitude of the Christians, as we have seen, was different. According to Origen, Celsus had no right to deny the reality of magic; Augustine was quite certain that the rites used for summoning demons were efficacious (*de Civ. Dei*, xxi. 6); and, indeed, the Church Fathers in general are far from denying the existence and power of magic (Epiph. *Hær.* xxxiv. 1; Tert. *Apol.* 35, *de Anima*, 57; Eus. *Præp. Evang.* v. 14), especially in those early days when it seemed necessary to make the sharpest possible distinction between the Christians and the Gnostics. All heretics in general and Gnostics in particular were magicians and their faith was magic (Iren. *Hær.* i. 13 ff.; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 26). Paganism in any form was magic. For the Alexandrian *theurgi* the difference between gods and demons was merely a difference in degree; for the Christians there was an absolute opposition between the two: God was good, all the demons were evil; the pagan gods were all demons, therefore all the pagan gods were evil. Any and all marvels which did not happen to be orthodox were the work of the demons.

It will be seen that this is really the familiar old distinction between the orthodox and the heterodox, with a much greater emphasis on the secondary conclusion, also ancient, that the one was good and the other evil, *per se*. And the same old distinction carried with it the same old assumption that the one was just as real as the other. The Christians never seem to have realized any more than did their pagan forefathers that the difference between their gods and other people's gods might conceivably be the difference between gods who are and gods who never were. The only way to deal with the pagan gods was to classify them as evil demons (Tatian, *Orat.* viii.). They were just as real as ever; the marvels and prodigies attributed to them were just as real and just as readily believed as ever; it was merely insisted that the same had been wrought with intent to deceive. The 'idols' still nodded and gave signs from time to time, just as they had always done; but that was a *magica operatio* wrought by the demons of the old religion (Iren. *Hær.* v. 28. 2; Eus. *HE* ix. 3). The persistence of this old prodigy of nodding, etc., is an interesting proof that the Christians still clung to the old pagan idea, more or less generally entertained by the less educated class, that the gods actually inhabited their statues. Many a priceless example of ancient art has been destroyed for this reason, and the idea still survives in the famous mediæval story of the 'Ring of Venus.'

Of particular interest to the student of magic of this strange period are such surviving treatises as the *Poimandres* of Hermes Trismegistus, *Asclepius sive Dialogus Hermetis Trismegisti*, the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollon, and the astrological works

of Nechepeo and Petosiris.<sup>1</sup> The literature of the magic oracles belongs to astrology as well as to magic. Another important source is the *Tabella Devotionis*, so many of which have come to light in recent years.<sup>2</sup>

The magic papyri.—But most important of all are the magic papyri which continue to turn up from time to time in Egypt. Hubert<sup>3</sup> gives the list of those published down to 1904; for later finds and their discussion, the reader is referred to Von Christ (*op. cit.*), L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Papyruskunde* (Leipzig, 1912), the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, and the occasional reports in Bursian's *Jahresbericht des klassischen Altertums*.

The magic papyri belong for the most part to the period between A.D. 300 and 500. Their discovery is peculiarly fortunate in view of the fact that they belong to a type which came under the ban of the law, and which some of the later emperors, notably Diocletian, made sedulous efforts to destroy. They are not original and independent works, but merely handbooks of magic, and, as might be expected, the editorial tradition is very poor. There are often different versions of the same thing; sometimes the hymn or formula in one version will be considerably abbreviated as compared with the same hymn or formula in another version; again, certain habitual formulæ are often merely indicated. It is therefore extremely difficult to reconstruct any complete and trustworthy text of this type.

The authorities habitually quoted and the sources, so far as we can trace them, seem in some respects to bear out Pliny's statements in his account (*HN* xxx. 1 ff.) of the growth and development of magic. Pliny distinguishes three principal sources of ancient magic: (1) the Persian school, founded by Zoroaster; his 2,000,000 verses on this important subject (note the childish exaggeration characteristic of this sphere) were revealed and explained to the Greeks by Osthaneas. Pythagoras, Empedocles, and Democritus belonged to this school, and also certain ancient Medes, Babylonians, and Assyrians. Democritus explained the magic books of Dardanus, which he had found in his tomb; they were written in Phoenician. (2) The second is the Jewish school, descended from Moses, Iamnes, and Iotapes (*Pap. Mag.* p. 755; *Apul. de Mag.* 9; *Ex* 7<sup>10-12</sup>), and (3) the third is a Cypriote school.

It will be observed that Pliny makes no reference to the Egyptian school, which was particularly important and which, of course, is often mentioned in the papyri themselves. One of the most important authorities in magic alchemy is Maria, the Jewess, but the papyri also refer to real philosophers like Thales, Anaxagoras, Heraclitus, and Diogenes. The genuine magicians, i.e. the contemporary or recent authorities, are generally referred to under such names as Zosimus, Synesius, Olympiodorus, Pelagius, and Iamblichus. Now and then we find such curious and characteristic documents as a letter of the magician Nephotes to Psammetichus, a charm of Solomon, or a letter of Pitys, the Thessalian, to Osthaneas. This gives some idea of the attitude of the Alexandrian magicians towards the tradition which they followed.

It is no longer possible to trace the Persian, druidical, and Brāhmanical elements in this strange compound. Assyro-Chaldean influence must have been strong, but it appears to have been indirect. Jewish influence, on the contrary, was both strong and direct, the magic papyri being strongly affected by Judaism. Jewish magicians were in evidence,

and they doubtless encouraged the impression that they were the only depositories of the genuine tradition of real magic. But, as Hubert remarks,<sup>1</sup> they brought no organized system to bear upon the Græco-Roman type, but merely introduced certain powerful elements of magic. Especially important here was the Bible, which was presented in Egyptian by way of the Hermetic tradition, after being translated from Greek, and furnished part of the more or less peculiar mythology of magic at this time. Their god, as we should expect, is frequently mentioned in incantations, especially the different forms of his name (Aoth, Abaoth, Arbathiao, Abriao, Adonai, etc.). Especially frequent, too, are the names of Moses, Abraham, Jacob, Solomon, and the various archangels. F. G. Kenyon<sup>2</sup> has explained 'Abraxas' as a corruption of the Hebrew benediction *hab-brakhah dābh-rāh*, 'pronounce the blessing,' which still survives in the magic of modern times as the familiar 'abracadabra.' Hebrew words more or less corrupted are frequent in the papyri, and Christian influences are also evident; it followed in the wake of Judaism, and, though naturally not so strong, is of the same general type.

But one of the most remarkable contributions of all is that of Egypt, as we might expect of a country so ancient, so full of pretentious wisdom, with a language so utterly strange, and an alphabet which to the ordinary outsider seemed so hopelessly complicated and mysterious. The last two qualifications alone—both sovereign for charms—are enough to establish the reputation of any country as a land of magic and magicians. It may be observed, however, that, unlike the Jews, the Egyptians contributed a complete, organized system of magic to the combination. The fact that, as we learn from the *Book of the Dead*,<sup>3</sup> a magician could be prosecuted shows that the old Egyptians had long since separated magic from religion by the familiar criterion of official recognition. So far as the Greeks and Romans are concerned, the great name here is Hermes Triemegistus. He is not only the principal vehicle and interpreter of Egyptian magic, but, as we have seen, the Hermetic tradition is quite as powerful in the articulate presentation of the Hebrew contributions.

All these foreign influences on the theory and practice of Græco-Roman magic of this later period are more or less clearly traceable in the magic papyri. But it is to be observed that they are never clearly differentiated. Isis, e.g., reveals the wonderful art of magic to Horus. This is all well enough; Horus was one of the family. But Isis learned all her magic from one of the Hebrew archangels. It is equally surprising to see Sabaoth approached with Greek rites. Often special efficacy is gained by issuing a sort of general call to all the pantheon or—which, thanks to the doctrine of sympathy, amounts to the same thing—by adding to one god the names of the most revered gods in a number of nationalities. Magic naturally turns to the foreign religions. It also believes that the plural is more redoubtable than the singular. Hence the more or less chaotic pantheon of magic, especially in its more advanced stages, the symptomatic tendency to multiplication and mixture for purposes of power, which reflects to a certain extent the fact that magic is an outlaw, that it is not subject to official control, and that it has no assured position in the body politic.

V. *THEORY OF MAGIC*.—The procedures of magic, especially of magic so highly developed as was that of Greece and Rome, are, at first sight, bewilderingly complex. But the main ideas, the essential principles from which they all derive and upon which they

<sup>1</sup> See W. von Christ, *Gesch. der griech. Litteratur*, Munich, 1908, § 820, for editions, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See esp. W. S. Fox, 'The Johns Hopkins *Tabellæ Devotionis*,' *AJPA*, Suppl. to vol. xxxiii. [1912] and references.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1508 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1513.

<sup>2</sup> *Greek Papyri in the Brit. Museum*, London, 1908 ff., i. 62.

<sup>3</sup> ed. E. A. W. Budge, London, 1909, p. cii.

are all founded, are simple, universal, and eternal. The fundamental purpose of magic is to compel by supernatural means; the primary object and supposed result of every charm is some form of constraint. Possession or obsession (*κατοχή*) is a constraint, any form of metamorphosis (such, e.g., as lycanthropy) is a constraint, *fascinatio* in all its numerous forms is a constraint. The ancients habitually associate the processes of magic with the ideas of binding, tying up, nailing down, and their opposites. A magic act is a *κατάδεσμος*, a *κατάδεσις*, a *defixio*, a *devinctio*; the removal of its effect is an *ἀνάλυσις*, a *solutio*, and the corresponding verbs are, e.g., *καταδέω*, *defigo*, *λύω*, *solvo*. The language of charms and the details of ritual are largely suggested and guided by some form of this fundamental idea. One sees it most clearly in such symbolic acts as the tying of knots, the driving of nails, and the binding of images.

The object of every magic act is to put beings or things into or take them out of a state in which certain movements, certain changes, certain phenomena must infallibly ensue. A character or condition is either produced or suppressed, a spell is either imposed or removed.<sup>1</sup>

1. The doctrine of sympathy.—One of the great fundamental principles of magic art is the doctrine of sympathy; but, while the doctrine of sympathy explains much, it should not be forced to explain all. This would be expecting too much of such a phenomenon as magic, in spite of the fact that its deductions are, in their way, so amazingly logical. It is also true that magic is supposed to work in two different ways; it either reaches its object independently and directly and acts at once, as it were, automatically, or—and this was the prevailing theory of the Greeks and Romans—it reaches its object indirectly through the agency of some intervening power to whom its behests are addressed and by whom they are executed. The distinction is important and enlightening; but here, again, we must not apply it too rigidly. There are cases in which the characteristic features of both methods are more or less traceable. We must not expect too much of the magician; he is not always a clear thinker, and he has an inveterate habit of calling all known powers to his aid, whether they happen to be logically related or not.

The doctrine of sympathy is most clearly seen in the direct method. The simplest and most common form among the Greeks and Romans is that in which the magic power possessed or acquired by a given thing works upon the desired object by contact. The virtue of the amulet (see CHARMS AND AMULETS) is shared by the person who wears it, the virtue of philtres and *φάρμακα* of any kind is appropriated by those who take them as directed. It may be observed, however, that even here, so far as the Greeks and Romans were concerned, the supernatural power had already intervened in the preparation of the given article; and the magician's characteristic method of pluralizing for power is naively illustrated by the rule that in preparing a *φάρμακον* one should combine ingredients which individually are capable of producing the desired effect. The reasoning is evident. The large use of magic of this type, i.e. *φάρμακία*, helps to explain the magician's particular interest in the properties of plants and simples. For a similar reason the alchemist is particularly interested in the properties of stones and gems; some of them are sovereign for certain diseases, if ground up and taken inwardly with the appropriate ceremonial. Primitive medicine is a fearsome adventure for the patient. In rare cases the *mana* inheres in the object as such, but this is generally a secondary conclusion. As a rule, the *mana* is acquired, or merely accidental. Some objects are only conductors of *mana*—which explains why they can be

used for apparently contradictory purposes. Other staple ingredients in a large number of charms—such as honey, flour, rain-water, etc.—have lost their original significance. Objects are selected according to the usual rules—some real or fancied resemblance, especially the association with some god, etc. A certain thing, e.g., is yellow, therefore it is good for jaundice. Such odd names for plants as 'Jove's Beard' or 'Venus' Ears' record associations with gods, and were doubtless originally secret. The place from which an object comes is often a decisive factor: articles found in the public baths were magic. The Christians considered certain filthy animals magic because they were associated with the devil. Certain names of plants and minerals are magic because they correspond to the planets.<sup>2</sup> Sometimes the decision is made from etymology, true or false; the *reseda* owes its power to its name only (*HN* xxvii. 131). The virtue of lead for certain purposes is due to the fact that it is heavy or cold or indestructible, etc.

One of the most important applications of the doctrine of sympathy is the use of symbolism.<sup>3</sup> As we have already seen, symbolism is even more characteristic of magic than it is of religion. Hubert<sup>3</sup> defines two methods. In the one, which is particularly dramatic, the person or thing upon which we wish our magic to act is represented by a substitute. The most notable example of this class is the use of clay and waxen puppets. The second consists in prefiguring the desired action and result (Tib. i. vi. 53 f.; Soph. *Aias*, 1175)—

e.g., apply a stone to a wart (contact and sympathy), throw the stone away (symbolism), and the wart goes with it. Or, if you have a pain in the stomach, apply the stomach of a frog to the part affected, and your pain becomes his pain, etc. (*HN* xxii. 149; Macrobius, xxvii. 123).

The same idea of contact and sympathy creates the familiar rule of magic homeopathy, that the cause of a given thing is also its remedy.

But, so far as magic is concerned, perhaps the most momentous deduction from the doctrine of sympathy is the rule that the part may stand for the whole, that the two are inseparably connected; the part is able to draw the whole to itself, if aided by magic. What Vergil called the *exuviae* of Aeneas had a special function and a special significance in the pretended *solutio amoris* of the unhappy Dido (*Æn.* iv. 494 ff.). Without assuming the active co-operation of this principle, we cannot appreciate the true inwardness of the most striking performances of magic in classical antiquity. If, for instance, a magician can secure bones of the dead, he has a special and powerful means of calling up the dead to whom those bones originally belonged (Tib. i. ii. 46)—which is one important reason why witches were so often accused of haunting the graveyards (Hor. *Sat.* i. 8; Lucan, vi. 530), and in primitive times the principal reason why the corpse was so carefully watched until it was safe in the grave (Petron. 63; Apul. *Met.* ii. 21). So, too, if we wish to reach the living, it is very important to possess a lock of their hair, the parings of their nails, a garment, or anything nearly or remotely associated with them. Nothing is more intimately and entirely part and parcel of a thing than its real name. 'Rome,' it is said (Tib. i. ii. 57 f., with the present writer's note; Macrobius, iii. ix. 2; *HN* xxviii. 18, iii. 65; Plut. *Quest. Rom.* 61 [p. 279 A]; Serv. on *Æn.* i. 277; Solinus, 1; Lydus, *de Mens.* iv. 73), is only the *alias* of the great city with world dominion. The true name, i.e. the name which would have enabled her enemies to conjure against her with magic, was a religious secret. So the clay or waxen image may be comparatively harmless until it has been

<sup>1</sup> Dieterich, p. 171 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See esp. *GP*, pt. I., *The Magic Art*, I. ch. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1507.

<sup>1</sup> Hubert, *op. cit.* p. 1506.



ceremonially named with the true name of the person whom it is meant to represent.<sup>1</sup>

Names are not the only words which are an integral part of the things which they represent. A similar relation exists between the verb, or the sentence, and the action described by it. Hence, of course, the theory of incantation as opposed to that of prayer in the modern sense. From this point of view the lines of Euripides (*Hippol.* 478 f.),

οὐδὲν ἢ θυγατρὶ καὶ λόγῳ θαλερτέρῳι  
φαρμακὸν τὴν γῆρας φάρμακον νόστον,

echoed by Horace (*Epist.* I. i. 34 f.) in

'Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem  
Poenis et magnam morbi deponere partem,'

are true not only of magic theory in general, but of the Græco-Roman conception of magic in particular. Incantation is rarely, if ever, absent from some stage of the act. The influence of the indirect method is seen even more clearly in the fact that sympathy is often created by the incantation which accompanies the act (e.g., *HN* xxvi. 93). In the exorcism of disease the incantation is often sufficient in itself. Again, a mere verbal comparison is sufficient, especially if accompanied by a gesture.

'Salvum sit quod tango!' ejaculates Trimalchio piously (*Petr.* 68), to avoid possible consequences when he touches his friend's arm to illustrate where and how the unfortunate character in his story was touched by the witch.

Given, therefore, the right words in the right order and pronounced in the right way, the desired result must ensue. But which words? Ancient formulae connected with or naming the appropriate gods are, of course, valuable, but in many cases nothing can compare with ancient words in an utterly incomprehensible tongue. The most famous example in antiquity was the so-called *Ephesia Grammata* attributed to the Dactyli.<sup>2</sup>

But it is by no means necessary that an incantation should consist of what, even in the most general sense, could be termed articulate speech of any sort. Mere music, e.g., as such is distinctly magic. The great musicians of mythology—Amphion, Orpheus, Väinämöinen, etc.—are always magicians. We no longer attribute the power of music to magic in the literal sense, but primitive man can hardly be blamed for doing so. The ancient doctors made a considerable use of music in their practice, and we ourselves have learned that it is sometimes distinctly beneficial in certain obstinate nervous disorders of long standing.

Here, however, our particular concern is with a class of sounds which are anything but musical, but which are mentioned again in the literature of the Empire as being especially powerful and efficacious in magic incantations. Lucan, vi. 686 ff., tells us that all the sounds of nature were imitated by such an expert as Erichtho, and does not fail to add his usual and characteristic catalogue. But Lucan is too anxious to tell us all he has read in his uncle's library to be of any great value in a matter like this. Whatever they afterwards may have become, we can be sure that these phenomena were simpler and more specific, that they were probably inspired by some aspect of the doctrine of sympathy, and used for a special purpose.

The Romans habitually describe them by *stridor* and *stridore*. The sounds to which these words are applied are many, and vary from the filing of a saw to the creaking of a door and the shrilling of a locust. But they are all alike in being inarticulate, high-pitched, and disagreeable. The obvious and instructive parallel is the primitive Greek *γογγύεα*. The *γογγύεις* were specifically necromancers and, as we saw above (p. 271<sup>b</sup>), they were supposed to have received their name from the most notable

<sup>1</sup> E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Tübingen, 1907, p. 61; often in the papyri.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Kuhnert, in Pauly-Wissowa, v. 2771-2773, and references.

peculiarity of their magic, viz. 'from their wailing and crying among the tombs.' So, long afterwards, in Græco-Roman times the charms described by *stridor* and *stridores* are very characteristic of *nekromantia*. If so, and we can hardly doubt it, the inarticulate magic charms connoted by these two words should be just those described as 'wailing and crying among the tombs,' and their purpose should be to call up the dead. Such being the case, the two most common and characteristic uses of *stridor* and *stridores* outside the sphere of magic itself are illuminating. (1) One of these is that squeaking and gibbering of the dead to which the ancients so often refer:

'Ecce inter tumulos atque ossa carentia bustis Umbrarum  
facies diræ stridore minantur' (*Petr.* cxxii. 137); 'auribus  
incertum faralis strident umbræ' (*Lucan.* vi. 638; cf. *Stat. Theb.* vii. 770; *Sil. Ital.* xiii. 600; *Claudian.* in *Ruf.* i. 126; *Ovid. Fasti.* v. 458; *Virg. Æn.* vi. 492 f.; *Hom. Od.* xxiv. 5; and *Hor. Sat.* i. viii. 40 f.).

By the doctrine, therefore, of sympathy the *stridores* of the necromancers were an imitation of the wailing and crying of the dead, and owed their efficacy to that reason. (2) *Stridor* is regularly used to describe the hoot of the *strix*, or screech-owl—that long-drawn, shuddering scream that suggests nothing so much as the wail of the banshee, the moaning of souls that can find no rest, the ominous cry of the *ψαοόδραροι*, questing ghosts of those who died before their time (see *HECATE'S SUPPERS*). No wonder the *strix* is the most remarkable and ill-omened bird in classical folklore. Owls, disembodied spirits, or necromancers calling up those spirits—so far as the cry alone was concerned, how was one to be sure which was which? As a matter of fact, all three were more or less inextricably confused with each other, and there can be no doubt that the cry had much to do with the situation. The *strix* is associated with all sorts of witchcraft in antiquity, but especially and above all with vampirism in its various forms (see the present writer's note on *Tib.* I. v. 42). The classics are rich in examples of the type which happens to be more familiar to us, especially in the erotic sphere. The return of Proteus is a case in point (*Roscher, s.v.*), also the story of the Lamia (*Philost.* *Apoll. Tyam.* iv. 25) immortalized by Keats, and the simple and touching tale told by Phlegon of Tralles (*Mirab.* 1) which is the prototype of Schiller's 'Braut von Korinth' and Gautier's 'Morte Amoureuse.'

But witches can turn owls whenever they like, and they do so regularly, when their object is some form of necromancy.

Ovid, *Amor.* I. viii. 13-18, speaking of Dipsas, the redoubtable saga with eyes of different colours ('pupula duplex'),<sup>1</sup> says:

'Hanc ego nocturnas versum volitare per umbras  
Suspitor et pluma corpus anille tegi;  
Suspitor, et famas: oculis quoque pupula duplex  
Fulminat et gemino lumen ab orbe micat;  
Evocat antiquis proavos atavosque sepulchris  
Et solidam longo carmine findit humum.'

But the ever present and most gruesome side of this idea, as of magic in general, is the sexual side. Most frequently the witch is like Pamphila in Apuleius (*Met.* iii. 21). She assumes the form of a *strix* to fly to her lover; she never comes to him as a human and normal woman. The fires of hell are in her eyes, the fires of hell are in her veins, the taste of blood and death is on her lips. She is the erotic vampire—the *succuba*, as she was called in the Middle Ages—who haunts her victim in his dreams and little by little draws to herself the very marrow in his bones. Hence it is that the Græco-Roman screech-owl, who, even at her best, as Pliny substantially says (*HN* x. 34), seems to make no effort to look or act like a well-meaning and self-respecting fowl of the air, belongs quite as

<sup>1</sup> See K. F. Smith, in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, Baltimore, 1902, p. 237.

much to the kingdom of dreams as to the kingdom of birds. How can one be sure in any given instance whether the *strix* is a real *strix* or a witch in the form of one (Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 141)? Indeed, as early as Plautus (*Pseud.* 820; cf. Propert. iv. v. 17) *striges* already meant 'witches' as well as 'screech-owls,' and this designation of what is evidently the Roman parallel of the old Greek *nycterus* records a popular belief which showed no tendency to diminish in later days.

2. Sources of magic power.—Our surviving testimony is insufficient to give us a very clear idea how the powers of the classical magician were defined or from what sources they were supposed to be derived. For the Egyptians, as Hubert<sup>1</sup> remarks, the magician was like the priest in being closely associated, if not actually identified, with the god whose power he was utilizing,<sup>2</sup> and perhaps in the ultimate issue this is everywhere the explanation of his power. Particularly notable was the development of this principle among the Alexandrian *theurgi*. Here, of course, the characteristic Græco-Roman preference for the indirect method afforded a favourable soil, but, without doubt, the chief factor was the direct influence of the Egyptian theory just mentioned.

But, granted that he does identify himself with the god, how does he compass it? Is it a gift, or does he acquire it, and, if so, how? The *theurgi* emphasized the theory that it was acquired, and the methods recommended indicate in themselves the effort to raise magic to the level of a religio-philosophical system permeated with the ideas and ceremonials characteristic of mysticism. Asceticism was recommended, but, above all, the magician must be an adept. Such persons may have a revelation coming to them more or less directly by way of the fallen angels or the archangels (Tert. *de Idol.* 9 f., *Apol.* 35). Indeed, Maria the Jewess was instructed by God Himself.<sup>3</sup> Gods, kings, great philosophers, and sages of old loom large in this aspect of later magic. The 'Book of Moses'<sup>4</sup> gives us a good idea of the complicated ceremonial through which the candidate was supposed to pass in order to arrive at the perfection desired. There were purifications, sacrificial rites, invocations, and, to crown all, a revelation of the *Kosmologia* (how the universe was made and the secrets thereof). This puts the adept in relation not with certain specific gods, as appears to have been the idea of the Egyptian prototype, but with the stars and planets, i.e. the universal powers. The magician, especially the magician-chemist, derives his power from the acquaintance with the forces of nature. He has established *rapport* with the universe; and, as there is also *rapport* between all the parts of the universe, he has extended his power over the entire universe as a whole. This, of course, is the old doctrine of sympathy on a particularly grand and impressive scale. The result of the ceremony is that the magician, the *theurgus*, is himself no longer a man, but a god.<sup>5</sup>

This is a conception calculated to appeal to any man whose imagination is still in working order, but it does not emerge clearly in ordinary magic. It belongs rather to mystic magic, which was the special development of serious souls, some of them really great, who believed that this path would lead them to the undiscovered secrets of life, death, and immortality. To speak in terms of the average man and of the history of the art as a whole, the ideas which determined the powers of the magician were much the same as those which dictated the choice of a magic object or the con-

struction of a charm, and which, in fact, are fundamental in the art of magic as a whole. Generally speaking, magic is a gift and, as such, it is often due to some accident of birth or to some special privilege. In some cases it is inalienable; again, it can be outgrown or easily lost. Children, e.g., merely as such, sometimes possess it.<sup>1</sup> Virginity has always been considered an important condition of the power to prophesy (*Geopon.* xi. ii. 4; Plut. *de Defectu Orac.* 46).<sup>2</sup> The idea seems to be that the seeress is, as it were, married to the god and that infidelity to him is punished by loss of the power which he gave her. The entire world seems to be agreed that women, simply as women, are peculiarly gifted in this direction (Demosth. c. *Aristog.* i. 17; Aristoph. *Nubes*, 749; Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* xx. 10, *Dial. Meretric.* i. 2, iv. 4, *Bis Accus.* 21). We have already seen how important they are in the mythology of Greek magic, and this is true of all magic. They are less prominent in the magic of the mystics and their brethren, but this is itself symptomatic of the ideals and pretensions of the movement. In the genuine, traditional, immemorial magic of everyday life in Greece and Rome they never lost their importance. As a *φάρμακis*, Medea was typical of her sex. The knowledge and practice of *φάρμακela* as a branch of magic were always more or less confined to women.

The distant, the foreign, the strange, the unusual, even the horrible, are all important factors. 'Magic' is a primitive name for anything abnormal. Those who come from distant countries, especially if, like the Brāhmans (Philostr. *Apoll. Tyam.* iii.), they are also the priests of strange and remote religions, are magicians. Hence, on the principle of 'omne ignotum pro magnifico,' there are distant countries in which all the inhabitants are magicians or possess the evil eye or some such uncanny gift. Any person with the evil eye is a magician; so, too, the ventriloquist (schol. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1014; Plato, *Soph.* 252 C; Plut. *de Defectu Orac.* 9). Anything abnormal about one's birth or pedigree is likely to give one magic powers. Persons born with a caul have the gift of prophecy. The child of incest, especially of deliberate incest, is bound to be a magician. This was harped on continually in the witch trials of the Middle Ages, but it is also prominent in ancient tradition, especially in connexion with the Magi themselves (Catullus, xc.; Xanthus, frag. 28 [*HHG* i. 43]; Sotion, *ap. Diog. Laert. proœm.* 7; Strabo, p. 735). Sometimes whole peoples, clans, or families are supposed to be magicians (Herod. iv. 105);<sup>3</sup> some—e.g., the Thibii (*HN* vii. 17)—owe it to the possession of the evil eye; others have some particular specialty.

The Ophiogenes, the Pyllai, the Marai, etc. (*ib.* xxviii. 80, vii. 13-16), can kill snakes simply by breathing on them, or can cure snake-bites merely by touching the wound with their hands. A certain family in Corinth could calm tempests (Heeych. and Suidas, s.v. *ἀνεπεσοίρου*), and so on. Many similar statements made by Alexandrian authors and others now lost are preserved by Pliney (*HN*, esp. bk. vii. and xxviii.).

In the majority of such cases the ability is more or less vaguely conceived of as inborn, in others it is a secret transmitted from generation to generation. But, whether inborn or imparted, magic is a secret. Indeed, initiates were sworn to secrecy in the later days among the mystics.

3. The powers invoked.—But the most characteristic feature of Greek and Roman magic is the universal prevalence of the indirect method and its influence on the development of the art. So far as Greece and Rome were concerned, the theory of demons—those spirits to whose action practically every phenomenon is due—was as characteristic of the world at large as it was of Plato and his

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1509.

<sup>2</sup> Berthelot, II. 80.

<sup>3</sup> W. Kroll, 'De Oraculis Chaldaicis,' in *Breslauer philol. Abhandl.*, vii. 1 (1894), p. 54.

<sup>4</sup> Dieterich, p. 136, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Dieterich, p. 136.

<sup>1</sup> *Abt. op. cit.* pp. 245, 262.

<sup>2</sup> See E. Febrle, 'Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum,' in *RFF* vi. (1910).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lobeck, p. 1196.

followers (Plut. *de Defectu Orac.* 10). Diseases were caused by specific demons, panic was caused by Pan; such figures as the Erinyes, Nemesis, Poena, Empusa, the *Moīrai*, *Arcturæ*, and *Barkorivai* are not only popular but very old. There are even demons whose only function is to execute the commands of the magic tablets deposited in the baths, and there are others who are merely *ἀνθρώποι*, or emanations. The efficacy, e.g., of the *λυγὲς* demands, as Hubert observes,<sup>1</sup> the creation of a demon or of a special god<sup>2</sup>—a curious but characteristic retention of the primitive view that nothing in this world can happen or be except by the individual exertion in every case of conscious, energizing will.

The magician may find it necessary or advisable to consider other spirits besides the specific agents of the phenomenon in question. He cannot be sure of success beforehand. He may make mistakes, and a mistake in a ceremonial is fatal. And, even if everything is correct, the ceremony may be entirely upset by something unexpected and unforeseen. In addition, therefore, to the specific energizing demon, he considers it prudent to summon to his aid such other powers as he can command. He calls on some appropriate god, e.g., to send him the necessary energizing demon, or he summons the spirit to whom the efficacy of the rite itself is due; hence the theory of the 'familiar,' the magician's own 'demoniac factotum,' which assumed such importance in the Middle Ages.

The object, therefore, of magic was to act upon and use the supernatural powers either as energizing spirits or as auxiliaries. Some of these powers occur only in the tradition of magic itself, but the large majority are common to both magic and religion. Most important here are the demons. Plato himself (Suidas, s.v. *μαγεία*), as well as the average man, attributed to them the success of any magic rite.<sup>3</sup> The magic charms of the later period are full of invocations to demons—demons of all kinds and descriptions and exercising every imaginable function, but all of varying degrees of inferiority to the great gods. In fact, as time goes on, the realm of the supernatural assumes more and more the aspect of an Oriental despotism with a thoroughly organized bureaucratic government, all in the hands of demons. There are secretaries and under-secretaries, guards, doorkeepers, messengers—a regular hierarchy of demoniac officials, whose rank and functions are established and fixed with meticulous exactness. The only private citizens in this government are the ordinary human man and the occasional person with 'influence,' i.e. the magician; and it is curious to see how soon and easily the latter assumes the methods and attitude of the influential citizen who lives under a similar government in this world. If he wishes to reach the ear of the all-highest at the other end of the line, he addresses the demon of lowest rank, the message is transmitted through the appropriate channels, and in time he gets his answer. Indeed, as in all such governments, the first demoniac underling may be so nearly human and, therefore, so much in sympathy with the magician himself as to take a really personal and lively interest in furthering the matter in hand. All this question of rank and functions was carefully discussed by Proclus and Porphyrius (*de Mysteriis Ægypt.*), and, in fact, the prominence of it is particularly characteristic of their school and period. This school, it may be observed, made a distinction between good demons and bad demons, attributing the errors of *γογγύελα* to the latter. The demons were identified with the Jewish angels in their function of divine messengers, and even the old pagan gods, reduced to

the rank of demons, became messengers of the universal deity (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, ix. 19), while the archangels, Michael, Gabriel, etc., take rank with the *archontes* of the Gnostics as tutelary gods of the planets (W. Anz, *TU* xv. [Leipzig, 1897] *passim*). With Christianity the old gods became demons, and all were considered evil. But magic, the conservative of conservatives, never gave them up, though all of them now without distinction were in the service of the devil.

One of the most important classes of demons connected with magic are the spirits of the dead, the *νεκρῶν ψυχῶν*, especially those who, like the *βαιοθάνατοι*, died violent deaths or otherwise before their time, or never received proper burial, and therefore cannot rest in their graves.<sup>4</sup> The heroes, so to speak, have a somewhat higher social position, but they too are important in magic.<sup>5</sup>

A notable peculiarity of paganism as contrasted with its successor was the inability to make a sharp distinction between gods and demons. The obvious criterion would be power or disposition. Neither were trustworthy. Some demons were greater than some gods, and some gods were as unmistakably malignant as some demons were beneficent. The demons, therefore, were not the only powers to whom the magician addressed himself. The gods themselves practised magic (Apollod. i. ii. 1, iii. vi. 8); indeed, Pindar says (*Pyth.* iv. 213 ff.) that it was Aphrodite herself who taught Jason how to 'draw down the moon'; and so the magician would naturally turn to them (Apul. *de Mag.* 31). The preference is, of course, for the *di inferi*—Hades, Demeter, Persephone, Baubo, the Praxidikai, the Erinyes, Gaia, Cybele, especially those who, like Hecate, Selene, and Hermes, habitually pass back and forth between the two worlds.

The greatest of all, the goddess *par excellence* of magic and magicians throughout antiquity, is Hecate-Selene,<sup>6</sup> the Dea Triformis of the cross-ways, and the queen of the ghosts, who sweeps through the night followed by her dreadful train of questing spirits. Her power is universal, but she is specially connected with the magic of love, metamorphosis, and *παρρησία*. The most famous and dramatic incantations of antiquity are associated with her. The *lunula*, the *λυγὲς*, the *selenis*, the redoubtable *spuma lunaris*, and the *rhombus* are only a few magic objects and properties directly associated with her. The schol. on Apoll. Rhod. iii. 478 even informs us that Circe was her daughter. At all events, Medea was her priestess, Musæus was called her son, etc. Next to her, perhaps, especially in the magic papyri, comes Hermes Chthonius, often confused with Hermes Trismegistus (Diog. Laert. *proöm.* 7; Porphyry. *de Abstin.* ii. 16).<sup>7</sup>

But the *Κύριοι Θεοί*, the great gods, are also addressed, and not only the great gods of foreign races—which we should expect—but those of Greece and Rome. This habit, however, belongs more prominently to the babel of the later period. Here the habit of calling on a number of gods at once, or of reinforcing the name of some Greek god with the names of all the strange gods of foreign lands who are supposed to be identical with him, or of using *Ἰδω* as the name of the god of gods, or *Ἰδω*, in the feminine, to sum up, as it were, all the aspects of divinity, or of combining gods in the hermaphroditic form for the same purpose—all these are so many illustrations of the magician's inveterate habit of pluralizing for power. The result is, of course, that the divinities lose all personality and, as Hubert says, 'become mere factors of a divine total.'<sup>8</sup> Nothing was left but the name, and even

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1511.

<sup>2</sup> Kroll, *op. cit.* p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> J. Tamborino, 'De Antiquorum Dæmonismo,' in *RVF* vii. [1906], *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> E. Riess, in *Rhein. Mus.* xlviii. [1893] 307 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Deubner, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Abt, *op. cit.* p. 197 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Deubner, p. 21 n.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 1512.

this was more or less concealed or defaced in the magician's characteristic effort to get at the true name, the name of power for the now somewhat vague supernatural force which he wished to utilize. Having the name and also the image of the god, he could use the force for anything desired, it being understood, of course, that such accompanying ceremonies had been performed as were appropriate for realizing the mystic presence of the god.

4. Rites and ceremonies.—Thanks to this habit of pluralizing for power, of summoning from every direction all kinds of strange and, therefore, particularly irresponsible forces, a magic ceremony was even more complex than a religious ceremony. Especially notable in all ages is the number of conditions and precautions which have to be observed. This is characteristic of any cult in which the theory of incantation still survives. Under such circumstances the immediate conclusion always is that religion is a perilous pursuit. Any man who approaches gods with an invocation so worded and presented that it is a command which must be obeyed knows that he is handling an edged tool able to cut both ways. The gods resent the imperative, especially from an inferior, and will destroy him if they can. The Roman account of the death of old king Tullus shows how dangerous it was in their opinion—even in religion, much more in magic—for an amateur to start the complicated machinery of invocation. There was an old Greek saying that 'the witch who draws down the moon finally draws it down on herself.' The saying reflects the general idea, afterwards so strongly emphasized in the Middle Ages, that the magician, of all people, is foredoomed to something like the fate of Tullus Hostilius in the end. The Greek is also apt as a specific illustration. It was generally held that of all charms one of the most difficult and dangerous was 'drawing down the moon'—so dangerous, in fact, that the magician deemed it wise to arm himself in advance with a protective counter-charm against the very power whom he was about to invoke. The *Διαβολή τοῦ Σελήνης* preserved in the *Papyrus Paris*, line 3622 ff., is an interesting example of what was considered efficacious against the wrath and vengeance of *Πόρνια Σελάνα*, 'Our Lady Moon'—a suggestive forerunner of the 'magic circle' of which we hear so much in the more pretentious magic of the Middle Ages.

The magician must also observe certain rules, likewise characteristic of religion, which, to a large extent, are suggested by the nature of the powers with whom he has to deal.<sup>1</sup> He, or the person in whose interest the charm is being performed, or both, must be in such a condition that contact with the spirits evoked shall be without danger. Regulations vary, but among the most common are *ἀγνεία*, 'purity,' ablutions at stated intervals, anointings with oil, avoidance of certain foods (esp. fish), fasting, temporary chastity<sup>2</sup> (cf. Tib. II. i. 11 f.; the regular *secubitus* so often referred to by the elegiac poets, etc.). More rigorous and more numerous are the conditions attending the performance of the rite itself, and most important is the observance of nudity or its ceremonial equivalent.<sup>3</sup> The costume must be flowing, i.e. without knots or fastenings of any kind, or it must be coarse, or of linen, and in the last case, either white or white with purple streamers (the ceremonial significance of colours has already been referred to).<sup>4</sup> Having gone through the preliminary purifications and donned the appropriate raiment, the operator must then consider the attitude to assume. This

is vital. In most cases there are gestures which cannot be omitted.<sup>5</sup> Equally important is the magician's own state of mind. He must have faith, he must put all his soul into the accomplishment of the rite (Gargilius Martialis, 19).

The time at which the rite should be performed is also very important. This is largely determined by the habits and associations of the god to be addressed, and is an immediate deduction from the law of sympathy. For magic in general, but in particular for all magic connected with Selene-Hecate, sunset and the few minutes just before sunrise are very favourable; so, too, any phase of the moon, but, above all, the new and full moon. The stars and planets for the most part became important only after astrology gave greater precision to the sort of influence supposed to be exerted by each. As a matter of course, night is a better time than day.<sup>6</sup>

The place is quite as important as the time, and the choice of it is again a direct deduction from the law of sympathy, as regards either the god to be addressed or the person to be affected. Roads, streets, boundaries, and the threshold are all sacred in both magic and religion. The cross-roads suggest Hecate, the graveyard *nekyomantia*. Both are favourite spots so far as the magician is concerned.

Finally, as we have just seen, there are ceremonies which the operator does not venture to perform unless he is armed with some sort of protective charm against the god whom he is addressing, or against any one who might interrupt the ceremony, or against the effect of possible counter-charms.

The best and clearest description of the ceremony, properly speaking, is given by Hubert.<sup>7</sup> It involves the use of two kinds of rites. The purpose of the one is to accomplish the object itself of the ceremony by a logical application of the principles of magic action; the object of the other is to manufacture or, at least, to assure the presence of the actual magic power sufficient to work in the way prepared and thus to accomplish the purpose desired. In other words, to state it in terms of modern electrical science—the theory of which is curiously near to that of magic—he must construct the proper machinery and establish the proper connexions; then, before turning on the power, he must see to it that the power is really there.

The first class of rites, the machinery and connexions, calls for the use of a certain number of objects or parts which, in the end, generally come to be considered magic in themselves. One of the most common and dramatic is the magic wand, which is really a conductor of the magician's *mana*. The divining rod,<sup>8</sup> though used in a different way and for a different purpose, derived its efficacy from a similar conception. The Etruscans used it in searching for hidden springs (Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Aquilux'), and, as the writer of this article can testify from personal observation, as late as twenty years ago a similar method for discovering the best place in which to dig a well was still used occasionally in the American countryside. In addition to the magic wand and the divining rod, we have the apparatus of *dactylomantia* (Amm. Marc. XXIX. i. 29 ff.), the lamps in *lychnomantia*, the basins of water in *lecanomantia*, keys in their symbolic use, cymbals, the various substances referred to above, threads of different colours, portions of the dead, the *tyrt* (Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 213, and often), the famous *rhombus*, *turbo*, or *vertigo*, i.e. the 'witches' wheel,' the rotation of which, by imitation and sympathy, was sovereign to influence the will of the person whom one wished to gain, etc.

<sup>1</sup> Deubner, p. 20 ff.; T. Wächter, in *RFV* ix. 1 (1910).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fehrle, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> J. Heckenbach, 'De Nuditate sacra sacrisque vinoulis,' in *RFV* ix. 2 (1911).

<sup>4</sup> See Abt, op. cit. p. 148, n. 3, for literature on this point.

<sup>5</sup> Deubner, p. 36, for examples.

<sup>6</sup> Abt, op. cit. p. 292 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit. p. 1516 ff.

<sup>8</sup> The examples of its use in classical literature are collected by E. Norden, *Jahrb. für Phil.*, Suppl. Ed. xviii. (1894) 317 ff., 319 n.

All these end by being considered magic in themselves, but, in view of what has been said, it will be seen that this idea is secondary. Their real function and purpose was to facilitate or render possible the action of magic power and, at least originally, they were chosen from that point of view.

Sometimes the ceremonial proper needs the assistance of some rite whose object is to put the person interested in a state to receive the benefit of the action desired. A case in point is the ceremonial of *incubatio*.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of *incubatio* is to surround a person with the appropriate conditions to secure for him the true and prophetic dream which he desires. Conditions are, as often, dictated by the law of sympathy. And, except that the nature of dreams was never quite clear to the ancients—and perhaps will never be quite clear to any one—the nameless theorists and thinkers by whom these conditions were first discovered and formulated appear to have been quite familiar with the results of J. Börner's famous dissertation afterwards incorporated and extended in W. H. Roscher's *Ephialtes: eine pathologisch-mythologische Abhandlung über die Alpträume und Alpdrücken des klassischen Altertums*, Leipzig, 1901.<sup>2</sup> Börner showed that, among other things, in a healthy person nightmare is usually due to partial suffocation caused by burying one's head in the pillow, coverlet, etc., that the rapidity with which the nightmare, the *incubus*, appears to approach the dreamer is always measured by the rate of suffocation, but, above all, that the appearance of the *incubus* itself is to a surprising extent determined by the sleeper's surroundings, especially by the material and texture of his coverings. Such being the case, though L. Laistner<sup>3</sup> goes too far in his theory that the *Uralptraum*, the primeval nightmare, is the father of all mythology, we may at least suspect with Roscher that Pan's legs were the inevitable result of the style of bed-quilts used by his primeval worshippers (cf. Latinus's method of securing an interview with Faunus in Verg. *Aen.* vii. 81 ff.), and, for that matter, that the *incubi*, *succubae*, *striges*, and all their monstrous brood must have entered this world in the first place by the Ivory Gate. If so, it is certain that some of our most cherished legends, our best and most thrilling stories, and our finest poetry are literally the stuff that dreams are made of.

But of all magic operations none is more common and characteristic, more dramatic and impressive, or a better illustration of the doctrine of sympathy than the casting of spells (cf. Heliodorus, xi. 14, and the examples noted below). The special feature of this operation is due to the theory that, if the person whom we wish to reach with our magic is absent or far away, his place may be filled by a puppet, or some symbolical substitute for him. If, then, the ceremonial is appropriate, whatever we do to the puppet will be exactly repeated, literally or symbolically, as desired, on the person whom the puppet represents. Consecration of the one is immediately followed by consecration of the other (Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 74 f.), binding of the one by the desired condition symbolized by it in the other, running needles into the heart of the one by some effect on the other symbolized by such a process—as, e.g., wasting away to death with no apparent cause (Ovid, *Amer.* iii. vii. 29 f., *Heroid.* vi. 21, and often). Sometimes one figure may stand for an indefinite number, as in the spells of Nectanebo (pseudo-Callisthenes, i. 1). One may cast a spell on spirits as well as mortals by this means (Eus. *Præp. Evang.* v. 12 ff.).

<sup>1</sup> L. Deubner's *De Incubatione*, Leipzig, 1904, is the standard work on this subject.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *AJP* xxi. [1901] 233.

<sup>3</sup> *Rätsel der Sphinx*, Berlin, 1889.

Hence we have cases in which two puppets are used, one representing the person to be acted upon, the other the spirit by whom the action is to be performed (Hor. *Sat.* i. viii. 25 f.).<sup>1</sup> Occasionally even three figures appear to have been used (schol. Bern. on Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 75). Often they were hollow, and their power was enhanced by putting written incantations inside. As a rule, these puppets must be made of clay or wax, but occasionally other substances were just as rigorously prescribed. Eusebius (*loc. cit.*) speaks of such an image of Hecate made of pulverized lizards and the roots of rue. A sheet of metal or even of paper upon which the figure has been traced is often considered sufficient.<sup>2</sup> The value and philosophy of *exuvia* have already been mentioned. But one may use such arbitrary substitutes as the body of a bird, a sprig of myrtle or of rue, etc.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, as we have already seen, the name is sufficient in itself. On the same principle, a written incantation placed in a tomb has the same effect as would a puppet<sup>4</sup> (Apul. *Met.* i. 10, *de Mag.* 53).

The verbal portions of a magic rite are of the highest importance. In many cases they are the operator's instructions to the intervening demon in order that he may make no mistake as to the meaning and object of the symbolic rite. The puppet is inscribed with the name of the person whom it represents, and sometimes this is accompanied by a written statement of what is to happen to him. So, when one gathers a medicinal plant, one should be careful to utter the name of the patient who is to be benefited by it. Again, in constructing a *devotio*, one should specify in order each and every part in which it is desired that the proposed victim shall suffer.<sup>5</sup>

The indirect method is also directly responsible for the conclusion that incantations are a special help to the operator in the accomplishment of his second great task—the creation of magic power. Hence the use of the magic hymns and litanies, the object of which is to ensure the presence and active participation of the appropriate spirit, to indicate his duty, and, if necessary, to frighten him into doing it.<sup>6</sup>

We have seen how various objects, plants, simples, etc., originally selected as facilitating in some way magic *rapport*, finally came to be considered magic in themselves. Names and incantations underwent precisely the same secondary development. From being a means to an end they became magic *per se*. The further conclusion was then drawn that their power might be indefinitely increased by frequent repetition, by lengthening certain syllables to an extraordinary extent, by abstracting certain syllables and decorating them with affixes and suffixes, by rearranging them in different combinations, and especially by disposing them so as to form certain figures.<sup>7</sup> Examples still surviving are 'abracadabra,' and 'sator arepo tenet opera rotas' (see *Thesaurus Ling. Lat.*, s.v. 'Arepo'). The *Ephesia Grammata* belong to the same type (Porphyr. *de Myster.* vii. 4). Mystery and power were further enhanced by the use of magic alphabets, by certain sacred inks, and so on. Numbers pass through the same experience and acquire the same magic power *per se*—

e.g., there are seven planets. If, therefore, we wish to invoke them, there is nothing so compelling as the pronunciation of the seven vowels or a sevenfold repetition of a ceremony,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Riese, *op. cit.* p. 908.

<sup>2</sup> R. Wünsch, *Salzburger Vorlesungsausschuss*, Leipzig, 1896.

<sup>3</sup> G. Knaack, *Rhein. Mus.* xlix. [1894] 310.

<sup>4</sup> For clay and waxen images see Abt, *op. cit.* p. 153 ff., and L. Fuchs, in *RVF* ii. [1905] 125 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See esp. Fox, *op. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Dieterich, p. 65; K. Diltz, *Rhein. Mus.* xxvii. [1872] 375-419.

<sup>7</sup> K. Wessely, in *Wiener Studien*, viii. [1886] 184.



gesture, or word (Eus. *Præp. Evang.* v. 14). Odd numbers have always been significant (Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 76, and often), three and multiples of three are sacred to Hecate, and certain special numbers like four, ninety-nine, etc., have a special importance.

In magic as in religion the object of sacrificial rites is to ensure the actual presence of the gods invoked. And here again the indirect method suggests that these rites are of material assistance to the operator in acquiring the desired power (Theocr. ii. 3, 10, 159). In the choice of what shall be sacrificed in any given instance the usage of magic as a rule does not differ materially from that of religion. This, of course, is quite natural. As a rule, the gods addressed are common to both and of equal importance in both; in fact, it is perhaps safe to guess that, so far as sacrifice is concerned, the usage of magic and religion is a common inheritance. For example, the notable preference of magic for black victims is not distinctive of magic. It simply means that, in accordance with the naive analogy set forth, for instance, in the old hexameter quoted by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* iv. 9)—

ταῦτά μιν σφαιρίους, χθονίους δ' ἐνάλια κροῦθι,  
'dark victims to the powers of darkness, light to the powers of light—

the gods to whom magic habitually addresses itself are the gods of the under world. So wine,<sup>1</sup> honey, milk, perfumes, meal (Theocr. ii. 18, 33), certain cakes dear to these same gods, a cock to Hermes, a white dove to Aphrodite, etc.—all common to both religion and magic—are frequently employed. The use of blood is defined by Hubert as a sacrificial rite; it is at any rate—as in Sallust's account of the oath administered by Catiline to his fellow-conspirators—a striking illustration of the law of sympathy (Lucan, vi. 544). The sacrifice of human beings, especially of little children, even of the unborn babe torn from its mother, is a standing charge against magic in all ages (Hor. *Epod.* v.; Philostr. *Apoll. Tyam.* viii. 5),<sup>2</sup> and, for that matter, against any heretical sect with secret rites. The Christians in their time were charged with such abnormalities as infant-sacrifice and promiscuous incest at their meetings—precisely the same charges which, a millennium later, they themselves preferred with wearisome regularity during their long persecution of witchcraft, especially in connexion with the 'witches' Sabbath.' In most cases the charge of human sacrifice is as conventional as it is untrue; but it would be unsafe to deny it *in toto*. We can hardly expect such an outlaw, such a striver for extraordinary effects, as magic to abstain altogether from what was quite regular in the religion of more than one savage race, and which—in accordance with the familiar theory that extraordinary occasions demand extraordinary sacrifices—has been known to occur more than once at some grave crisis in the religious life of nations which, comparatively speaking, occupied a much higher plane of civilization. Finally, it may be noted that, as was the case with the incantations, names of the gods, etc., mentioned above, the things sacrificed, whatever they were, soon passed into the secondary stage of being considered magic *per se*.

One important aspect of our ceremony—quite as important in religion as it was in magic—remains to be considered. As we have seen, the operator must be careful to follow certain prescribed rules in order to get into the necessary and intimate spiritual relation with the gods whom he is addressing, and, therefore, with the sacrifice which he is conducting. The relation is abnormal and distinctly perilous. To get out of it safely is,

therefore, quite as important as to get into it safely; prescribed rules are as necessary for the one as for the other. The object of these rules is to end the ceremony, to limit the effects of it so far as the operator is concerned, to make it safe and possible for him to return to the conditions of everyday life. Above all, the remains of the sacrifice, unless he wishes to preserve them to produce some lasting effect (as, e.g., in a *devotio*), must be disposed of ceremonially. One may deposit them at some prescribed spot sacred to the god to whom the sacrifice itself was offered. The καθάρματα, for instance, the ceremonial remains of the sacrifice to Hecate (see HECATE'S SUPPERS), were deposited at the cross-ways. The more usual method was to eliminate them ceremonially by burning them, burying them, or throwing them into running water or the sea (Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 102, with the notes of Conington and Forbiger). The *Marreia Kporική* (Pap. Paris. 3095) shows that, at least in some cases, the ceremony closed with a prayer to the god in which he was invited kindly but firmly to go back to where he belonged:

Ἀνδρῆ, δέσποτα, κόσμον προσηλῶ, καὶ χεῖρας εἰς τοὺς ἰδμεν  
τόπους, ἵνα συνταχῶν τὸ πᾶν. Ἰλασε ἡμῖν, κύριε.

It will be seen, therefore, as Hubert observes,<sup>3</sup> that among the Greeks and Romans the standard ceremony of magic and the standard ceremony of religion, so far as their essential elements were concerned, were practically the same, even to the point of using the same names for these elements. Furthermore, with some comparatively slight exceptions, the gods of magic are equally important in religion, and, on the whole, they are treated with the same reverence. As we have seen, some of the abnormalities of magic are just as characteristic of religion, and they are generally due to the fact that, at the time when these abnormalities occur, both are specially concerned with the infernal gods. The worship of these gods, whether in religion or in magic, is visibly influenced by the universal idea that the under world is the reverse of ours. It is dark, silent, barren, loveless, childless, eventless, stationary—a complete contrast to the world above, a contrast regularly symbolized in rituals to the dead and their gods by such things as the use of the left hand instead of the right. It is, no doubt, this ancient idea of reversed conditions in Hades that suggested the most striking feature of the famous 'Black Mass' as practised by the early Christian magicians (Iren. *Hæc.* I. xiii. 2). The normal 'White Mass' is addressed to heaven; if we reverse it, i.e. if we read it backwards, we address it to hell. But the Christian magician, in so far as he was a Christian, was bound to assume that his Black Mass was a wicked and impious rite. Hence the inevitable deduction was soon established that, the more wicked and impious magic could be, the greater and more terrible its power. For the magician of Græco-Roman paganism there seems to have been no such parodying of religious rites—above all, no such deliberate and malignant desecration of things considered divine as that of which we hear so much in mediæval magic and which appeared again in the modern cult of Satanism (*q.v.*), as described some years since by Jules Bois<sup>4</sup> and as utilized for purposes of fiction by J. K. Huysmans.<sup>5</sup>

*Summary.*—In so far as there was any real and essential difference between magic and religion in Græco-Roman paganism, the ultimate cause of it was largely, if not entirely, the steady maintenance of the ancient distinction of official recognition as defined and explained at the beginning of

<sup>1</sup> K. Kircher, 'Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum,' in *RVF* viii. [1910].

<sup>2</sup> See also J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882-88, pp. 44-46, 1800 f.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. p. 1520.

<sup>4</sup> *Le Satanisme et la magie*, Paris, 1891.

<sup>5</sup> *La-bas*, Paris, 1891; cf. also G. Leguë, *La Messe noire*, do. 1908.



this article. It is the business of magic, as long as it remains magic, to speak only in the imperative. It must, therefore, retain and emphasize those primitive doctrines—notably the doctrine of sympathy in all its forms—which are supposed to enable it to use the imperative successfully in addressing the gods. It is also the business of magic, partly because it is an outlaw and bound to assert its importance in order to live, to promise extraordinary, if not impossible, things—among them, things which the social and legal restraints of religion would not allow it to promise. In the course of its long and exceptionally brilliant history classical magic promises practically everything from a cure for warts to a receipt for personal immortality—all tried and true. Magic, therefore, was obliged not only to retain but to develop in every possible way those primitive aids to its imperative. It pluralized for power. And religion had done the same. But magic was an outlaw, it had no position in society, it was free to range at will, to gather into one portentous plural strange and terrible gods from the four corners of the earth, to combine them with the native gods, to re-arrange, re-interpret, disguise, mutilate, etc., in the ways described. In the long run, as we have seen, the pantheon of Græco-Roman magic was a pandemonium, and confusion worse confounded, in which the only relating principle seems to be the fact that the doctrine of sympathy in all its forms has been pushed to its uttermost limits.

To the very end magic was obsessed by the old imperative and, therefore, by the time-honoured means for securing it. When it rose in the social scale, it merely learned to be pretentious. Even when it had been adopted, so to speak, by some distinguished family like the mystics, had changed its name, and had been carefully educated and refined, it was still haunted by the old ideas, and generally ended by infecting with them its benefactors and teachers.

The same may be said of the contemporary development of popular magic. Our great authority here is the magic papyri. They all come from Egypt and are much affected by local influences; but, among other things, they show that, under the circumstances, the old rule of official recognition was eminently wise. In the civilization of Greece and Rome magic was given a rare, a unique, opportunity to make the most of itself. But, whether it improved the opportunity or not, the final result, as we see it in the papyri, is a striking illustration of its besetting sins. If it had clung to the native gods, as religion was forced to do, it is conceivable that, even with the heavy handicap of the imperative and its attendant vices, magic might have risen to comparative respectability. But its weaknesses were encouraged rather than checked. By the 2nd cent. the number of strange religions available, not to mention the semi-detached religious theories, had increased to an indefinite extent. The result was that from being a thing which, at least, could appeal to the imagination and the æsthetic sense, it steadily degenerated into utter absurdity as pretentious and complicated as it was dreary and commonplace.

But, fortunately for us, Græco-Roman magic in its best days was the familiar possession of all classes in a highly intellectual and highly imaginative people. Men of Ovid's calibre and training may not have believed in it to any extent, but there never was a time when magic as such became unfamiliar to any one. Even the major operations of magic were always being performed somewhere, and, as we have seen, the charge of magic was always kept alive in the courts. Hermione was far from being the only jealous woman to soothe her wounded pride by accusing her successful rival

of resorting to philtres. The charge was quite as characteristic of the Augustan age as it could ever have been of Homer's time (Tib. i. v. 41; Propert. iv. vii. 72). Nor was the charge by any means always unfounded. *Pocula amatoria* were a regular specialty of the *lena*, or go-between, and they actually were so frequently administered that the average man generally assumed that they were responsible for certain lingering diseases, especially certain mental or nervous abnormalities, for which he could see no apparent cause. Examples in point are the traditional account of the death of Lucretius and the contemporary explanation of the vagaries and perversions of Caligula's tempestuous brain (Jerome, *Chron. Euseb.*, 1924; Sueton. *Calig.* 50).

VI. *MAGIC IN LITERATURE*.—The more or less familiar presence of magic not only in folklore and legend, but also in ordinary everyday life, is reflected to an extraordinary extent in the written word. It is continually turning up in the arts, sciences, and professions, in law, religion, and philosophical discussion, in history, anecdote, and any other record of everyday life past or present. All this, however, is characteristic of any people among whom magic still survives as an active force, and it appeals for the most part only to such persons as the special investigator and the historian of manners and customs. But the most characteristic and interesting aspect of Græco-Roman magic is the deliberate exploitation of it in the interests of conscious literary art. One is inclined to assume, and perhaps justly, that this was particularly notable of such periods as the Hellenistic age, the time of Augustus and his immediate successors, and the Sophistic revival of the 2nd century. This use of magic was especially characteristic of poetry and of such types of prose as that of the highly rhetorical and semi-Romantic historians of the Alexandrian age, the Paradoxographers, the writers of *novelle* and tales of marvel, even the practice debates of the rhetorical schools, and, in later times, the throng of professional declaimers for whom those schools were ultimately responsible. But this aspect of classical magic is far from being a matter merely of period and department. On the contrary, nothing is more characteristic of it than the extent and variety, as well as the unbroken continuity, of its use in practically every department of artistic literature. No one could be more thoroughly alive to its æsthetic possibilities than was Homer himself, and he created a tradition of its literary use which not even the semi-Oriental and unutterably dreary fooleries of the papyri were able entirely to destroy.

In an article like this it is impossible as well as inadvisable to attempt a thoroughgoing investigation of the debt of creative literature to magic in antiquity. We must content ourselves with a passing reference to a few of those magic operations which are most frequently mentioned, and which by reason of their dramatic possibilities are best suited to the purposes of literary art.

One of the most notable of these is *nekyomantia*, calling up the dead to ask them questions. *Nekyomantia* is rarely absent from that catalogue of magic feats with which so many of the Roman poets seem impelled to supply us (Tib. i. ii. 42, and note). They also mention even more frequently three other feats which are particularly awesome, but for which the modern reader, at least, can see no adequate reason until it dawns upon him that they are merely a useful, though by no means necessary, preparation for *nekyomantia*. These are producing earthquakes, splitting the ground, and making the rivers either stand still or run backwards. The magician uses his earthquake to split the ground; the behaviour of the rivers is

merely a consequence of the quake. He splits the ground so that the ghosts can hear his incantation (i.e. be reached and affected by it) and then can come straight up to him from Hades (Sen. *Œdip.* 571; Lucan, vi. 728). As we have seen, the literary use of *nekyomantia* begins with the famous passage of the *Odyssey* (xi. 24 ff.). The essential details of the ceremonial as Homer describes it were always the same not only in literary tradition but in actual life. Doubtless, Lucan felt that his own long and lurid description of Erichtho's special performance for the benefit of Sextus Pompeius before the battle of Thapsus (vi. 728 ff.) was the masterpiece of its kind. And so it is. It would be hard to find a more glaring illustration of what can happen to literature in an age when a furious lust for effect is not restrained by any principles of rhetorical self-control or common sense. *Nekeomantia* had a long and brilliant tradition in the drama. Examples still surviving are *Æschylus, Persæ* (the ghost of Darius), and Seneca, *Œdipus*, 560 ff. Indeed, ghosts were as common, it would appear, in the ancient as in the Elizabethan drama. *Χάρωνος Καρπώσιον*, 'Charon's step-ladder,' was the popular name for the regular staircase by which the ghosts appeared on the stage as if from the world below. *Nekeomantia* was also quite as characteristic of comedy. In the later days of the Roman Republic Decimus Laberius wrote a mime entitled *Necyomantia*, and we know that this and similar themes were characteristic of the mime as developed by Philistion and his immediate successors during and after the Augustan age. Brilliant examples in the satirical sphere are Horace, *Sat.* i. viii., and Lucian's *Necyomantia*.

If we choose to emphasize the literary influence as such of the Homeric *Nekyia*, we can say that it is responsible for one of the most notable developments in classical literature. This is the theme of the Descent into Hades. The Homeric passage is directly responsible for the 6th book of the *Æneid* and its numerous echoes in epic and narrative poetry both ancient and modern. Nor was epic the only department to be affected. The theme was a favourite in the Old Comedy of Athens, although, as it happens, the *Frogs* of Aristophanes is the only example now surviving. The same is true of the satirists and popular philosophers of the Alexandrian and Hellenistic ages. It was characteristic of their didactic methods to appropriate for their own purposes the traditional forms and themes of literary art, and one of the most notable was the *Καρπώσιον εἰς Αἴδου*, which practically became conventionalized as a *mise-en-scène* for the presentation of doctrines and opinions. Allied to it are such examples as Horace, *Sat.* ii. v., Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*, such works of Lucian as the *Dialogues of the Dead*, and Claudian's attacks on Eutropius. The *Epicharmus* of Ennius and probably certain of the lost satires of Lucilius and Varro were illustrations. The poet Sotades used it to a notable extent.

But, while *nekyomantia* is the most prominent and pervasive aspect of literary magic, the most famous and picturesque was the love-charm known as 'drawing down the moon.'<sup>1</sup> It is first mentioned in surviving literature by Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 750, again and again by later writers, and still survives, it is said, in modern Greece. It was the theme of no fewer than four masterpieces: a lost mime of Sophron in the time of Xerxes, the lost *Thettale* of Menander (*HN* xxx. 7), the second *Idyl* of Theocritus (founded on Sophron), and the eighth *Eclogue* of Vergil (founded on Theocritus). Certainly, too, Lucian, *Philopseudes*, 14 ff., is a

masterpiece of its kind. The atmosphere reflects to the life that aspect of the 2nd cent. which suggests the modern *milieu* in which theosophy, spiritualism, and kindred ideas are wont to grow luxuriantly.

In this passage of Lucian we have the 'Professor's' story of how his disciple, Glaukias, was saved by the great 'Hyperborean' magician. It seems that Glaukias, a rich young orphan whose father had been dead about a year, fell fairly ill with love for the diadaphne Chrysis—a genuine prototype of Jenny Grove and cruel Barbara Allen. His condition became so serious that the 'Professor,' as he says, 'felt it his duty' to secure the services of the great Hyperborean. Fourminas had to be paid in advance—to supply the necessary sacrifices—and sixteen more if the operation was successful. By way of preliminary—which showed that the specialist was not only a great man but also a just and scrupulously conscientious man—he insisted on having an elaborate rite of *nekyomantia*, to call up the boy's late lamented father and ask his consent. The old gentleman was furious at first, but finally told them to proceed. A dramatic description of the ensuing ceremony follows—how the moon came down, how Hecate came up, how the ghosts flocked around, how, at the psychological moment, the distinguished operator 'told the sort of little figure of Cupid which he had fashioned out of clay to go and fetch Chrysis.' Away flew the tiny thing at once. A few minutes later there comes a knock on Glaukias's door, in rushes Chrysis, throws her arms around him, *ὡς ἂν ἡμικρανὸν ἰδὼσα* ('like a girl utterly crazy with love'), and there she stays till cockcrow! Then up rose the moon to heaven, down sank Hecate to Hades, and all the ghosts disappeared.

But the 'Professor's' listener is not duly impressed. Besides, he knows the girl. He doesn't see the use, he says, of calling on one Hyperborean magician, one goddess, and one clay ambassador to unite in overcoming the disdain of a girl who, as every one knows, is ready to follow a man to the North Pole and beyond for twenty drachmas.

Such books as the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid and the lost poem of the same name by his predecessor, Nicander, show that change of form was quite as characteristic of classical mythology and folklore as of the *Thousand and One Nights*. Transformation was Circe's specialty, and the Homeric account of her methods (*Od.* x. 212 ff.) has always remained the most famous literary account of the performance. Apart from the Homeric passage, the most vivid and circumstantial accounts of transformation by magic are those in which Apuleius (*Met.* iii. 21 ff.) and Lucian (*Asinus* [the common source of both was the lost romance of Lucius of Patras]) tell how the witch, Pamphile, made an owl of herself, and how, immediately afterwards, Fotia, her maid, made an ass of Lucius. But, as a rule, magic as such is not prominent in metamorphosis as a literary theme. This is, of course, quite natural; for in this particular feat the dramatic point is the transformation scene, and all else is likely to be subordinated, even in those cases where the transformation is confessedly due to magic. Vergil's sorceress, e.g., says that she has seen the werewolf transformation with her own eyes and that it was done by magic:

'Has herbas atque hæc Ponto mihi lecta venena  
Ipse dedit Moeris (nascuntur plurima Ponto);  
His ego aspe lupum fieri et se condere silvis  
Moerim' (*Æol.* viii. 95 ff.).

But in all the famous werewolf stories of antiquity,<sup>1</sup> as in most of the stories told by Ovid, the magic element is either absent, ignored, or referred to so slightly that it calls for no special notice here. Magic command of the wind and weather is often mentioned, and nothing in the way of magic was more common in everyday life, but the one famous passage is that in which Æolus gives the bag of winds to Odysseus (*Od.* x. 19 ff.). Also unique—and terrible—is the spell of the evil eye cast by Medea upon the giant Talus (Apoll. Rhod. iv. 1652 ff.). Ovid (*Met.* vii. 160 ff.) gives a full and dramatic description of her charm for renewing the youth of Jason's father, Æson. More famous was her pretence of doing the same favour for the aged Pelias at the instance of his daughters (Apollod. i. ix. 27; Hygin. *Fab.* 24; Macrobi. v. xix. 9 f.). This was the theme of the lost *Περφόριος*.

<sup>1</sup> J. Heckenbach, *op. cit.* p. 26; Kirby Flower Smith, *JHC*, 1898, *Publicat. Modern Lang. Assoc. of Amer.*, 1894.

<sup>1</sup> W. H. Roscher, *Selene und Verwandtes*, Leipzig, 1908, with a plate reproducing a vase-painting of the process; M. Sutphen, in *Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve*, p. 316.

of Sophocles. Indeed, the lost plays of the Greek tragic poets would have been a wonderful field for the study of the use of magic for literary purposes.<sup>1</sup>

Creusa's robe was a famous theme. Euripides (*Medea*, 1156 ff.) merely described the awful effect of it upon the wearer; Seneca (*Medea*, 740 ff.), the preparation of it. Which is the more artistic and effective may easily be seen by comparison.

On the other hand, there are types of magic in which it is precisely the preliminaries, the things which witches do because they have something terrible in prospect, that are full of dramatic possibilities. This is especially true of *nekromantia*. As we have seen, the necromancers are always eager to get mortal remains in order to be better able to call up their late owners. Striking examples are Trimalchio's story in Petron. 63, and the dramatic experience of Thelyphron as told by him after dinner in Apuleius, *Met.* ii. 21 ff. So, speaking in terms of magic theory, the dreadful scene of Horace, *Epod.* v., was only a means to an end; the object of the witches was to secure the strongest possible love-charm. The liver is the seat of desire (*Hor. Odes*, iv. i. 12); therefore the liver is sovereign in a charm to produce desire. Now, when a savage wants snake-poison for his arrows, he irritates the snake for some time before he kills it, so that it may secrete more poison and that the poison may be more virulent. So, here, the idea is that the more the liver feels desire, so much the more it actually accumulates desire, as it were, and stores it up within. If, therefore, we can secure a liver still containing a maximum of desire so accumulated, we have a charm of maximum power for arousing desire in others. Hence, in this scene, the poor child who has been kidnapped by the witches for that purpose, is buried to the neck and left to die of a prolonged agonisingly intense desire for food and drink, which is deliberately aggravated as much as possible by always keeping food and drink before his eyes. After the child was dead, his liver was removed, and, upon being prepared with the appropriate ceremonial, became a love-charm of superhuman power, a *φάρμακον* secured in a special way for a special purpose.

The gathering of herbs is another preliminary of *pharmakela*, which was fully appreciated for its dramatic possibilities. In literature the process is regularly associated with *Medea* (*Apoll. Rhod.* iii. 843 ff.; *Valer. Flaccus*, vii. 323 ff.; *Ovid, Met.* vii. 224 ff.; special emphasis was probably laid on this by Sophocles in his *Πυρρόβου*). She went out at night and by the light of the full moon cut her plants with a brazen sickle<sup>2</sup> held in her left hand and behind her back, i.e. *ἀνερσπερρί* (see *HECATE'S SUPPERS*).

So far as philtres are concerned, the most notable contribution to literature is what might be called the case of Beauty v. Magic in the court of Love.<sup>3</sup> Its first appearance is in the scene between Hermione and Andromache (*Eur. Androm.* 205 ff.), to which attention has already been called. The subsequent tradition of the question at issue is a striking and characteristic illustration of the methods and development of ancient literary art. The topic was announced from the stage, discussed in the boudoir, argued in the schools of philosophy, enlarged upon in the schools of rhetoric (*Menander*, frag. 646 K.; *Afran.* 378 R.; *Lucret.* iv. 1278 ff.; *Tib.* i. v. 43, viii. 23; *Ovid, Med. Fac.* 35 ff., *Ars Amandi*, i. 299 ff.). At some time in the unrecorded past it was given a new turn and made the basis of a properly illustrative and sprightly anecdote in which the appropri-

ately magnanimous mother of a great conqueror—any great conqueror will do—was in the position of Hermione, but possessed the wisdom of Andromache. In *Plutarch, Conj. princ.* 23, the position is held by the mother of Alexander; the sands of Egypt have lately disclosed the fact that in *Satyrus, loc. cit.*, it was held by the mother of Darius. Others may yet appear.

But for any one who is at all interested in the development of magic for literary purposes the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius is a veritable treasure-house. Those who have studied this unique book generally gain the impression that its author is a past master in the art of telling a tale of magic. Two examples may be given by way of illustration.

The first (*Met.* i. 11 ff.) is told by Aristomenes, and might be called 'The Witches' Revenge.' While travelling about Thessaly a short time previously, Aristomenes ran across one Socrates, an old friend whom he had not seen for several years. The man was a monument of rags, squalor, and wretchedness; he was also in a constant state of abject terror. He had drifted into a *Kateon* with a famous but elderly witch named Meroe, and, in fact, had been living with her, more or less perforce, for a number of years. Now he was trying to run away. Aristomenes decided to help his friend to flee the country. He took a room at the inn, made him presentable with a bath and some clothes, the two ate a heavy dinner, accompanied by too much wine, and retired early so as to be off betimes in the morning. Aristomenes barred the doors, and for greater safety pushed up his trundle-bed against them. Socrates fell asleep at once and snored loudly, but Aristomenes lay awake for hours. At last, about the third watch, just as he had dropped off into a doze, there was a horrible noise, the doors flew open and, indeed, came to the floor with such a crash that the bed with Aristomenes still in it was turned upside down. Then in walked Meroe and her sister, Panthia, the one carrying a leathern bottle, the other a sponge and a naked sword, and gathered about Socrates, who was still plunged in his magic slumber. Aristomenes could see all this from beneath his trundle-bed and hoped he had escaped observation, but in vain. Meroe was anxious to kill him at once with the sword, but Panthia thought it better to tear him limb from limb. 'No,' said Meroe, changing her mind, 'let him live, so that, when the time comes, he may cover his friend with a little earth.' With that Socrates' head was drawn to one side, and Meroe drove the sword into his neck just behind the left collar-bone. Then she plunged her arm into the gaping wound, and plucked his heart out. Meanwhile she caught all the blood in her bottle so skillfully that not one betraying drop escaped. When this was done, Panthia pushed her sponge into the wound, with the words:

'Sponge, sponge, born o' the main,  
Haste ye, haste ye back again!  
When you reach the river-side,  
In the water slip and slide;  
Water, water, flowing fast,  
Bears you onward home at last.'

Then, after heaping nameless insults on Aristomenes, the two women left the room, the doors flew back in place, the bolts shot to (a regular occurrence in witchcraft; cf. *Apoll. Rhod.* iv. 41 ff.), and all was as before—all but the murdered friend. How was Aristomenes to explain that in the morning? He tried to escape, but the porter was obdurate and even suspicious. Then he went back in despair and attempted to hang himself from the window-frame. But the rope broke, and, what made it more horrible, he fell on the corpse—whereat the corpse leaped up in high dudgeon at being so rudely disturbed. After all, it had only been a dreadful nightmare, a warning against too much eating and drinking late in the day. Next morning the friends set out, and, when it was time, proceeded to take their breakfast beside a stream under the shade of a tree. Socrates was as pale as wax, but he ate heartily, and then, at the suggestion of Aristomenes, knelt down on the bank of the stream to drink. As he leaned over, his neck gaped open, and a sponge, followed by a few drops of blood, dropped out, fell into the water, and was swept away. In a moment he was dead. So then and there Aristomenes dug a shallow grave and 'covered his friend with a little earth.'

The second story (*Met.* ii. 22 ff.) is unique as a satirically exaggerated illustration of what can be accomplished by the doctrine of sympathy when it is really given a fair chance. During his stay at Hypata young Lucius, the protagonist of the book, was entertained by his father's old friend, Milo. The rest of the family consisted of Milo's wife, Pamphila, who was a redoubtable sorceress, and Fotia, a beautiful slave-girl, with whom Lucius immediately fell in love. One night he went out to a dinner-party, and by the time he started for home it was very late and very dark—and the wine had been very strong. Just as he reached the door, the dim shapes of two great bury figures jostled up against him on either side. Thinking they were thieves, he leaped back, whipped out his sword, and ran them both through. He was barely awake the next morning, with a vague but awful memory of what had happened, when all the magistrates appeared, full of fear and office, and arrested him for murder.

The trial scene, which begins at once, is a masterpiece. It

<sup>1</sup> Abt, *op. cit.* p. 173 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Kirby Flower Smith, 'Note on Satyrus, Life of Euripides, Oxyr. Pap. 9, 157-8,' *AJP* xxxiv. [1913] 62-73.

all seemed like a nightmare to the prisoner at the bar, and his impressions are fully shared by the reader. What surprised him—and it surprises us too—was that the trial was held in the amphitheatre. Stranger yet, every seat was taken, and people had even climbed up on the pillars to get a better view. After the trial had gone on for hours, some one suggested that the prisoner must have had accomplices, and that he be put to the torture and made to name them. At this point the poor old mother of the two murdered ones came forward, and insisted that the unfeeling assassin be compelled to look upon his innocent victims. The corpses were brought in, lying side by side, and decently covered with a cloth. Lucius was forced, much against his will, to raise the cloth, and discovered not two stalwart men cold in death, but two wine-skins—horribly gashed by his ruthless falchion blade, but unmistakably wine-skins. A huge roar of laughter went up from the crowd. Mystified, but relieved, Lucius was escorted home in triumph. The day, he was told, was the regular festival of *Risus*, the goddess of laughter. His own contribution on this particular occasion had been so original and successful that the city had unanimously voted him a bronze equestrian statue. Lucius was still mystified and, indeed, somewhat resentful. As soon, however, as Fotis had the opportunity, she let him into the secret.

As Pamphila was passing the barber's shop the day before the 'murder,' she had caught sight of a blonde youth from Boetia who was in the chair having his hair cut. She fell in love with him then and there, and went straight home and began preparing a charm to draw him to her. The necessary preliminary, of course, was the possession of something belonging to him. 'So,' as Fotis says in substance, 'I was sent out to steal a lock of his hair. But the barber caught me before I could get away, and our reputation in town is so bad that he made me give up the hair, which I had hidden in my dress. I was in despair. But on the way home I passed a shop in which a man was clipping the hair of some wine-skins. So, to save a beating, I picked up some of the yellowest locks I could find, and managed to palm them off on my mistress for the real thing. She took them, and began her charm about the time you started for the dinner-party. The charm worked only too well. The robbers whom you met and slew at our door were the original owners of those locks—two passionate wine-skins struggling madly to get at their love and melt at her feet. And so it comes that "non homicidam nunc, sed utricidam amplexatus" ("the lover now in my arms is after all not a homicide, but a jugicide").'

But nothing, perhaps, is a clearer proof of the prominence of magic in everyday life than the fact that, as H. Reich has abundantly shown,<sup>1</sup> the favourite and most characteristic habitat of magic as a literary asset is the most popular type of drama in the ancient world. This is the *mimeus* (see *DRAMA* [Roman], vol. iv. p. 904). Transformations of men and animals were frequent; all kinds of charms were performed; the effects of all kinds of powerful magic were represented. Witches, warlocks, magicians, prophets, ghosts, demons, popular divinities, Empusa, Mormo, Incubo, Anna Perenna, Ephialtes, etc., were all favourite characters. The play went on in fairyland quite as often as on the Imperial streets or in the Imperial country-side. And sometimes, no doubt, it was hard to tell which was which. And yet the *mimeus* was realistic—the very name insists upon it. But the investigation of Græco-Roman magic emphasizes the undoubted fact that, after all, the realism of antiquity was not, and never could be, our realism. The native gifts of imagination and fancy were too enduring, the native inheritance of mythology and folklore was too rich and interesting, to allow it. Magic was one of those vices of intellectual youth which the Græco-Roman world never quite outgrew. But intellectual youth also has its virtues; and these two great Aryan races of the Mediterranean basin, in some other respects as well, retained to the last their unique and priceless gift of never really growing old.

**LITERATURE.**—This is given for the most part in the text. The best and most complete discussion of the subject is given by H. Hubert, in *Daremberg-Saglio*, s.v. 'Magia.' L. F. A. Maury, *La Magie et l'astrologie dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge*, Paris, 1860, is still valuable as a general survey. R. Helm, 'Incantamenta magica Græca Latina,' *Jahrb. für class. Philol.*, Suppl. Band xix. [1898] pp. 468-576, collects and discusses the actual texts of surviving charms and incantations. Particularly valuable for special topics is the *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten* (RVV), ed. R. Wünsch and L. Deubner, Gießen, now in its 15th volume.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> *Der Mimeus*, Berlin, 1903.

**MAGIC (Indian).—I. HINDU.**—Indian magic is essentially the profession of certain castes, though magical rites may be practised by laymen and magical properties are attributed to countless objects. The caste which is peculiarly devoted to magic as a vocation is that of the Yogis, which is primarily Hindu but has Muhammadan elements affiliated to it. The Yogi claims to hold the material world in fee by the magical powers which he has acquired through the performance of religious austerities, but this claim soon degenerates into superstition of the worst type, and the Yogi in reality is little better than a common swindler, posing as a *fagir*. Thus, in the tale of the magic boat, the gift of it comes from a *śādhū*, or religious mendicant.<sup>1</sup> Brāhmins, however, possess much magical lore, though the practice of magic is not a Brāhmanical function and the sections which make a profession of it tend to form sub-castes. The Brāhmins are said to have secret books on the subject which contain over 60 *jotias*, or figures, consisting partly of numbers and partly of mystic symbols, cabalistic words, and geometrical figures not unknown to free-masonry; these are used for all kinds of purposes, including the causing of abortion, success in gambling, etc.,<sup>2</sup> as well as to ensure easy parturition.<sup>3</sup>

The Yogis in particular claim power to transmute base metals into silver and gold—a claim which enables them (and those who personate them) to reap a great harvest from the credulous.

This power is said to have been discovered by the Yogi Dina Nāth, who, passing one day by a money-changer's shop, saw a boy with a heap of copper coins before him and asked for some in alms. The boy replied that they belonged to his father, but offered him some of his own food. Touched by his generosity and honesty, the Yogi prayed to Viṣṇu for power to reward the boy, bade him collect all the copper coin he could find in his father's house, and then, melting it down, recited *mantras*, or charms, and sprinkled a magic powder over it, whereby it was changed into pure gold. This occurred in the time of Sulṭān Altamāsh (A.D. 1510-36), who witnessed Dina Nāth's performance of a similar feat, and in commemoration of it had gold *mohars* struck with Dina Nāth's name on them as well as his own. These Dina Nāthi *mohars* are said to be still found. The secret of the *mantras* and the powder has been handed down, but is known only to the initiated.

**1. Occasions.**—Magical rites are practised at weddings, during pregnancy, at birth to procure offspring and ensure its safety and to determine and predict its sex, and to resuscitate the dead.

(1) *Marriage.*—The magic practised at a wedding is often symbolical. For example, just as naked women plough the soil in times of scarcity to ensure a crop, so at weddings a Telugu bridegroom of the Baliya caste performs a mimic ploughing ceremony, stirring up earth in a basket with a stick or miniature plough.<sup>4</sup> Similar rites are in vogue among the Palli,<sup>5</sup> Kamma,<sup>6</sup> Sambadavan,<sup>7</sup> and Tōṭṭiyan.<sup>8</sup> The Kamma bride carries seedlings in her lap, apparently to be planted by the groom. Among the Kāpu a milk-post of *Odina Wodier* is set up, and, if it takes root and flourishes, it is a happy omen.<sup>9</sup> An Unni bride plants a jasmine shoot, whose flowers she should present to the deity.<sup>10</sup> The parting of the bride's hair with a thorn is probably an imitation of the ploughing rite.<sup>11</sup>

The Indian conceptions that all life is one, and that life is something tangible or material, come out in several rites. Thus, at the beginning of a wedding, the Bedar scatter rice and gram (*dhal*)

<sup>1</sup> *NINQ* v. [1896] § 60.

<sup>2</sup> *PNQ* I. [1883] § 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* § 1017.

<sup>4</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909, I. 144. The full rite is of interest.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* vi. 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* iii. 103.

<sup>7</sup> *Id.* vi. 265.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* vii. 193.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* iii. 235.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* vii. 235. The milk-post is sometimes made of twigs of other trees—e.g., among the Agamudaiyan it is made of three kinds of tree, typifying Brāhmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (*id.* I. 14).

<sup>11</sup> *BG* xxiii. [1884] 45.

seed on some white-ant earth near five pots filled with water. By the time the wedding is concluded, these seeds have sprouted and are culled by the pair, taken to the village well, and cast into it—obviously to ensure their fertility.<sup>1</sup> An Idaiyan couple sow nine kinds of grain in seven trays,<sup>2</sup> and the Māla groom digs with his knife a few furrows, which his bride fills with grain and waters after he has covered it up.<sup>3</sup> Apparently the widespread custom of pounding grain at weddings has a similar origin. This is done by five women, e.g., in Bombay.<sup>4</sup>

The grindstone is also used among the Bhondāri in Madras; the bridegroom stands on it, while women bring a mill-stone and powder three kinds of grain with it; then he sits on the dais, and a number of married women each touch seven times with a grinding-stone an areca nut placed on his head.<sup>5</sup> A Bedar couple are invited by the Brahman priest to stand on a grinding-mill placed beneath the *pandal*.<sup>6</sup>

Among the Agamudaiyan a grinding-stone and a roller, representing the god Siva and the goddess Sakti, are placed in the north-east corner at the actual wedding, and at their side pans containing nine kinds of seedlings are set. Seven pots are arranged in a row between the stone and a branched lamp, and married women bring water from seven streams and pour it into a pot in front of the lamp.<sup>7</sup> The grinding-stone is also used in Bombay.<sup>8</sup>

The future offspring of the union is symbolized among the Komāṭi by a doll which is rocked in a cradle, but both the prospective parents profess lack of leisure to look after it.<sup>9</sup> The Parivāram use a stone rolling-pin to represent the child, which the husband hands over to the wife, who accepts it as 'the milk is ready.'<sup>10</sup> The Konga Vellāla bridegroom takes some fruit and a pestle to a stone, which he worships. It is supposed to represent the Kongu king whose sanction to every marriage used to be necessary, and the pestle represents the villagers; but the fruit is not explained, and the myth is probably etiological.<sup>11</sup> A newly-married Bedar or Boya couple sit on a pestle, and are anointed after rice has been showered over them.<sup>12</sup> In Bombay the rice-powder is used to personate the baby.<sup>13</sup>

Fertility can also be communicated to a bride by placing a child in her lap, and fruit is an effective substitute for one.<sup>14</sup> On the same principle women whose husbands are alive are admitted to take part in marriage rites,<sup>15</sup> more especially if they have sons living; whereas widows and those whose children have died should be excluded, at least from the more significant rites.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, widowers are excluded from certain functions.<sup>17</sup> Unmarried girls may, however, take the place of married women; e.g., among the Badaga, married women or virgins, preferably the bridegroom's sisters, go to a stream in procession to bring water for cooking purposes in decorated new pots.<sup>18</sup>

Water as a source of fertility also plays a great part in wedding rites. Thus bathing is an essential part of the ritual for both parties at weddings, and visits to a well or stream are very common. The use of pots full of water is to be explained in the same way. Thus among the Alitkar of Bombay a couple already married bring pots from a potter's house to that of each party to the marriage, and after an elaborate rite the boy pours water from a

jar. A jar also plays a prominent part in other rites, including a widow's re-marriage.<sup>1</sup>

Fish being an emblem of fertility, they are often caught by the bridal pair—e.g., among the Gudigāra of Madras;<sup>2</sup> the Holeya let the fish go after kissing them.<sup>3</sup> But the Kātriya, in Madras, only pretend to catch them,<sup>4</sup> as do the Nambūtiri Brāhmana.<sup>5</sup>

The potter's wheel, symbolical of the creative power which fashions the earth as it fashions clay, is also in evidence at weddings. The clay is formed into a revolving lump, like a *liṅga*, and wheel and clay together bear a strong resemblance to the conjunction of *liṅga* and *yoni*.<sup>6</sup>

The Pole-star (Dhruva in northern India) is called Arundhati in Madras, and, as the wife of the *ṛṣi* Vasiṣṭha, is pointed out to the bride as the model of conjugal fidelity.<sup>7</sup>

(2) *Birth*.—Magical rites to procure children are very usual. A typical rite, often resorted to by barren women, consists in burning down seven houses. In Madras a Koyi woman sometimes throws a cock down in front of the cloth on which portraits of ancestors are sewn, and makes obeisance to it,<sup>8</sup> and this cures her sterility. Bathing is also a cure for this misfortune, especially bathing over a corpse.

In the Andamans a pregnant woman sows seed.<sup>9</sup> Pregnancy, moreover, involves peculiar risks necessitating the protection of magic<sup>10</sup> and the avoidance of various acts, such as stepping over the heel-ropes of a horse,<sup>11</sup> which might apparently cause protracted labour, or crossing a running stream, which would result in miscarriage—a common belief in the Panjāb. In Travancore tamarind juice is dropped into a pregnant woman's mouth to cast out devils.<sup>12</sup>

When his wife's first pregnancy is announced, a Kota husband in Madras lets his hair grow long and leaves his finger nails uncut, and on the child's birth he is under pollution till he sees the next crescent moon.<sup>13</sup> A Mukkuvan husband also lets his hair grow until the third day after the birth. A coco-nut, betel leaves, and areca nuts are laid at the place where he sits to be shaved, and the coco-nut is smashed to pieces by one of his own sept.<sup>14</sup> A Nambūtiri Brāhman also remains unshorn while any of his wives are pregnant.<sup>15</sup>

Pre-natal divination to ascertain and magic to determine the child's sex are also common. Thus the Cheruman in Madras employ devil-drivers, who seat the woman in front of a tent-like structure with a coco-nut-palm flower in her lap. When cut open, the fruits predict the child's sex, the birth of twins, and the child's expectation of life or death. The goddess Kālī is supposed to be present in the tent, and prayer is offered to her to cast out the devil from the woman's body.<sup>16</sup>

Another rite which is believed to influence the child's sex is the so-called *simanta* of the Sūdras in Madras. In a first pregnancy, water or human milk is poured over the woman's back by her husband's sister.<sup>17</sup>

To ensure that the child shall be a male the *pūmsavana* is performed in the third month of pregnancy, the wife fasting that day until she is fed by her husband with a grain of corn and two beans symbolizing the male organ. Sometimes curd is poured over them before she swallows them, and she also pours juice of a grass into her right nostril.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Draft Monograph No. 52, *Ethnographical Survey of Bombay*, 1907.

<sup>2</sup> Thurston, II. 308.

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* v. 208.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* iv. 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* ix. pt. I. 31, 161.

<sup>6</sup> *Census Report*, 1901, I. 231; cf. Thurston, II. 416.

<sup>7</sup> Thurston, iv. 23.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* II. 78 f.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* 330.

<sup>10</sup> *Id.* iv. 191.

<sup>11</sup> *Id.* I. 15, 108, 142.

<sup>12</sup> *Census Report*, 1901, I. 206.

<sup>13</sup> *Id.* II. 130.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.* v. 115.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.* vi. 102.

<sup>16</sup> *Id.* v. 211, 212.

<sup>17</sup> *Id.* iv. 87.

<sup>18</sup> *Id.* I. 15, 108, 142.

<sup>19</sup> *Id.* I. 206.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* II. 130.

<sup>21</sup> *Id.* v. 115.

<sup>22</sup> *Id.* vi. 102.

<sup>23</sup> *Id.* v. 211, 212.

<sup>1</sup> Thurston, I. 206. <sup>2</sup> *Id.* II. 369. <sup>3</sup> *Id.* iv. 364.  
<sup>4</sup> *Id.* ix. pt. I. [1901] 159. <sup>5</sup> Thurston, I. 233.  
<sup>6</sup> *Id.* 201. <sup>7</sup> *Id.* 12.  
<sup>8</sup> *Id.* xviii. pt. I. [1885] 124. <sup>9</sup> Thurston, III. 323.  
<sup>10</sup> *Id.* vi. 158. <sup>11</sup> *Id.* III. 420.  
<sup>12</sup> *Id.* I. 202. <sup>13</sup> *Id.* xviii. pt. I. 216.  
<sup>14</sup> *Id.* xii. [1890] 117, xviii. pt. I. 217, xx. [1884] 132.  
<sup>15</sup> *Id.* xv. pt. I. [1883] 161. <sup>16</sup> Thurston, I. 52.  
<sup>17</sup> *Id.* 107. <sup>18</sup> *Id.* 104 f.

Quite distinct from this Brāhmanical rite is one observed in the seventh month in Travancore.

The woman goes to the foot of a tamarind tree, where she receives a thread seven yards long. This she entwines round a tree, and, if it breaks, either she or her child will soon die. Next day the thread is unwound, and her husband gives her a handful of tamarind leaves. On re-entering the house, he also gives her tamarind juice to drink, pouring it through his hands into hers. The priestess employed in this rite then pours oil on her navel, and from the manner of its fall divines the child's sex. As she drinks the juice, the woman leans against a cutting from a mango, which is then planted; and, if it fails to strike root, the child is doomed to adversity.<sup>1</sup>

Among the polyandrous Kammālan the woman's brother gives her rice gruel mixed with juices of the tamarind, mango, and *Hibiscus*.<sup>2</sup>

In protracted labour the washings of a brick from the fort of Chākabu or Chakrabhyu Amin near Pehoa are potent, or it suffices to draw a plan of the fort and drink the water into which the picture has been washed off.<sup>3</sup> The origin of this rite is obscure. The 'fort of Chākabu' is a game played by children: they make a maze on paper, and one child finds his way through it with a pencil. A dot within represents the treasure which it is supposed to contain. Vaisnavas of the Vallabha *sampradāya*, or school, often make their *ārti* in this shape.<sup>4</sup>

Difficult labour is dealt with in parts of Madras by calling in a woman who has had an 'easy time'; she presents the patient with betel, etc., and, if that fails, a line of persons drawn up pass water from hand to hand until it reaches the woman who had the 'easy time,' and she gives some of it to the sufferer. Here the luck or quality of the one woman is transmitted to the other.

In one caste, the Mālas of the Telugu country, who are Pariahs, the placenta is put in a pot in which are *nīm* leaves and the whole is buried, lest a dog or other animal should carry it off, which would make the child a wanderer.<sup>5</sup>

(3) *Death*.—A magical rite of resuscitation is practised by the Dāsaris, a class of priests who minister to Śūdras, in Madras. If a Dāsari is offended, he will revenge himself by self-mutilation or even by cutting off his own head. News of this is miraculously carried to all his caste-fellows, and, when collected, they display their magical powers by frying fish which come to life again on being placed in water, by joining together limes cut in two, and, finally, by bringing the suicide to life again. The rite can fail only if the victim's wife is in pollution or when the rite is not carried out reverently.<sup>6</sup>

2. *Agents*.—First-born children have power to stop rain. Muslims say that they can do so by stripping naked and standing on their heads, heels in the air. In Calcutta they need only make a candle of cloth and burn it.<sup>7</sup> A first-born son leaning against anything will, it is believed in S. India, attract a thunder-bolt to it.<sup>8</sup> Girls born in the asterism of Mūla are believed in S. India to place their mother-in-law in a corner, i.e., make her a widow, and so such a girl, if her mother is not already a widow, finds difficulty in securing a husband.<sup>9</sup>

Just as charms are made out of various natural substances, so such substances often possess magical powers. The acacia is inhabited by a *jinn*, but its wood is unlucky only if used to make or mend a bed; no one will be able to sleep on it. Here

<sup>1</sup> Thurston, II. 416. This rite cannot be said to correspond to the *pustakama*, which is intended to influence the sex of the child.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* III. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Karnāt Settlement Report*, 1883, p. 154; A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Calcutta, 1871, II. 223.

<sup>4</sup> *NINQ* v. § 642.

<sup>5</sup> *Id.* 382.

<sup>6</sup> *NINQ* I. [1891] § 278.

<sup>7</sup> *Thurston*, IV. 390 f.

<sup>8</sup> *NINQ* I. § 116, 463.

<sup>9</sup> *Id.* § 279.

the spirit in the tree appears to endue it with magical properties; a man who conveys himself in servitude to the spirit of this tree will get all that he wants, but only at the risk of his life. For twenty-one days he must take a pot full of water daily to the jungle, and on his way back cast half of it upon a particular tree; on the twenty-first night he will be irresistibly drawn towards it; the devil will appear to him, and, if he escapes death, he will get all that he wants as the price of his bondage.<sup>1</sup> The tree called *barkhar* (*Celtis caucasia*) has magical properties; any one cutting it down or tampering with it loses all his hair and becomes very ill. It yields a milk which raises blisters, and even to sit in its shade, while it is exuding it, has that effect. Indeed it is dangerous to sit in its shade at any time. This belief is current in the Murree Hills, in the Panjab, but in that very part the Gājars use amulets of *barkhar* (its usual Indian name) to ward off the evil eye (*naqar*) from both men and cattle, and its fruit is also much relished.<sup>2</sup>

To cure scorpion bite the insect should at once be caught and burnt, and the smoke allowed to touch the bite.<sup>3</sup> To cure *saya*, or consumption, in a child (said to be due to enchantment caused by ashes taken from a burning place and thrown over or near the child) the parents should give away salt equal to the child's weight.<sup>4</sup> Toothache is cured by a magical rite which consists in spreading sand over a clean piece of board and writing on it the first six letters of the Arabic alphabet. The patient then holds his aching tooth between his thumb and index finger, and touches each letter in turn with a pointed instrument. When he reaches the sixth letter, if not before, he will be cured. At each he should be asked if he is cured, and, when he says that he is, he should be asked how long he wishes for relief. He should reply 'two years,' as that is the limit of the charm's efficacy.<sup>5</sup>

After a bad dream, a Gāro, in Assam, collects a reed-like grass and is beaten with it by a priest, who repeats certain exorcisms. Then they carry a cock to the nearest stream, kill it, and let its blood fall into a toy boat; the boat is launched, and as it starts the dreamer bathes in the water. The prayers, the chastisement, and the sacrifice appease the spirits, and the boat is allowed to carry off the ill-luck.<sup>6</sup>

On the first day of sowing sugar-cane, sweetened rice is brought to the field, and women smear the outside of the vessel with it, after which it is given to the labourers. Next morning a woman puts on a necklace and walks round the field, winding thread on a spindle. This custom is falling into disuse.<sup>7</sup>

Magic squares are in vogue among Hindus. Thus one which totals 90 lengthways cures quartan ague; one totalling 100 every way causes excess of milk in cows and women and of *ghī* in a churn; one totalling 130 every way will, if worn round one's neck or in one's *pagri* (turban), bring any person under one's power;<sup>8</sup> and one totalling 15 each way brings luck and is commonly found on shops. Squares totalling 55 and 20 each way should be placed under one's seat to ensure success at play.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *NINQ* IV. [1894] § 797.

<sup>2</sup> *NINQ* II. [1884] § 272, and *Selection Calcutta Review*, VIII. [1896] 124 (*Calcutta Review*, LXXV. [1882] 290). In the latter R. C. Temple identifies the *barkhar* with the Skr. *vata*, or banyan-tree, but describes the *barkhar* as a low thorny shrub of the *sapindus*, or jujube, family, the fruit of which is the 'fruit of paradise' in Arabic poetry—on which account the tree is much prized in Tripoli and Tunis.

<sup>3</sup> *NINQ* I. § 563.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* § 561.

<sup>5</sup> A. Playfair, *The Gāros*, London, 1909, p. 115 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Karnāt Settlement Report*, p. 151.

<sup>7</sup> *NINQ* I. § 462.

<sup>8</sup> *Id.* § 587.



The power of magic is so great that by mere assertion of its potency a *bir*, or demon, may be brought into subjection.

Fast the whole of a ninth lunar day falling on a Friday, and in the evening eat sweet rice milk. At 8 p.m. don red clothes perfumed, and make a circle of red lead on the ground. Sit in its centre with four cardamoms, some catechu, betel-nuts, and eight cloves. Light a lamp fed with clarified butter and say: 'Incantation can break down the stars' 5000 times—and a demon will be at your service.<sup>1</sup>

II. *ISLĀM*.—Muhammadans classify magic as high ('*ulwī*'), divine (*rahmānī*), low (*sifī*), and satanic (*shaitānī*). In divine magic perfection consists in knowledge of the greatest of God's names—the *ism-al-āzam*, which is imparted only to the elect, and by which the dead can be raised. But God's other names, and those of Muhammad and of the good *jinn*, are also efficacious, and written charms are composed of them or of passages from the Qur'ān, as well as of mysterious combinations of numbers, diagrams, and figures. Satanic magic is condemned by all good Muslims. It depends on Satan's aid and that of the evil *jinn*, who ascend to the lowest heaven and hear the angels so that they can assist magicians. Enchantment (*al-sihr*) is a branch of this magic; but, as it has been studied with good intent and with the aid of good *jinn*, there is a science of enchantment which may be regarded as lawful. Enchantment results in death, paralysis, affliction with irresistible passion, possession, or metamorphosis. Metamorphosis is effected by spells or invocations to the *jinn* accompanied by the sprinkling of dust or water on the object to be transformed. Against enchantment and other evils a talisman (*ṭisīm*), i.e. mystical characters, astrological or otherwise magical, or a seal or image on which they are engraved, is effective. When rubbed, it calls up its servants.

Divination (*al-kihāna*), which is also practised by the aid of Shaitān, is obtained by magic, by invoked names, and by burning perfumes. Its forms are: *ḡarb al-mandal*, inscribing the enchanter's circle,<sup>2</sup> *ḡarb al-raml*, the moving of sand, *ʿilm al-nujūm*, astrology,<sup>3</sup> and *al-sijr*, or augury from beast and bird.<sup>4</sup>

The *Imām Zamānī* rupee is said to be dedicated to that *imām*, and is worn by Muhammadans on the right arm when starting on a journey.<sup>5</sup>

The names of 'Alī and the *imāms* are used in magical squares according to the *abjad*, or letter-value system of computation. Notices of the custom are not uncommon in Indo-Persian histories as having been practised on the Mughal court-ladies.<sup>6</sup>

Islamic medicine is acquainted with the olive of Bani-Isrā'īl, a stone found on the banks of the Indus. It is black with a little red and yellow, or olive-coloured with small white lines, and is used only for sprinkling over wounds and stings by Muslims. Hindus are said to worship it as a god, and to the Persians it is known as the *sang-i-Yāhū*, or 'stone of Jahweh,' or the *hajar al-Hunūd*, or 'stone of the Hindus,' in Arabia. Jasper (in Pers. *yashm*, Arab. *hajar al-bashaf*, or 'hard

<sup>1</sup> *NINQ* v. § 214.

<sup>2</sup> *Mandal* is doubtless from the Gr. *μάγδαλον*, and not connected with Skr. *maṇḍala*, a circuit or group of villages. The *maṇḍala* was a kind of drum used to conjure up demons; hence an enchanter's circle.

<sup>3</sup> It was taught by the two fallen angels Hārūt and Mārūt, who became enamoured of the songstress Zuhra, who ascended to the sky and mingled her splendour with the star Zuhra (Venus).

<sup>4</sup> H. Wilberforce Clarke, *Divān-i-Hāfiz*, Calcutta, 1891, II. 616 f., citing the *Mishkāt-al-Maqātib*, II. 304, 304, 305, 308, and *Mirdād al-samān*, I. 1. For a charm to divine which of two rivals will prevail see the *Sirāj al-raml* by Maulavi Roḡhan 'Alī and the *Miqdās al-raml* by Muḥammad 'Aṭṭār Māi Lahori, Lucknow, cited in *Divān-i-Hāfiz*, II. 331. It consists in writing the two names in *abjad*, and dividing by nine. Then, if both the quotients be odd or even, the lesser in number will conquer; if both are equal, the lesser in age; and, if one be odd, the other even, the greater in number will prevail.

<sup>5</sup> *NINQ* I. § 696.

<sup>6</sup> *PNQ* I. § 696.

stone'), when olive, green-yellow, or opaque green, is used in charms; and, when white, in medicine. The hair of a child will never turn white if a piece of it be tied on his neck at birth. If a piece is tied on the right wrist, he will be immune to witchcraft and the evil eye. Tied to a woman's thigh, it ensures painless labour; and, if by the light of *lailat al-qādir* (the night when Muhammad spake with God) a man be sketched over it and the picture worn over the head, the wearer will be safe from wounds in battle.<sup>1</sup>

III. *MAGIC AND RELIGION*.—It has been held by many scholars that in ancient India the confusion of magic and religion was rife, just as it survived among other peoples that had risen to higher levels of culture. H. Oldenberg<sup>2</sup> regards the sacrificial ritual of the earliest known period as pervaded with primitive magic, and he tells us that the rites celebrated at marriage, initiation, and the anointment of a king are complete models of magic of every kind, and that the forms employed are of the highest antiquity. Sylvain Lévi<sup>3</sup> observes of the sacrifices prescribed in the *Brāhmaṇas* that they have all the characteristics of a magical operation, effective by its own energy, independent of the divinities, and capable of producing evil as well as good; it is only distinguishable from magic in that it is regular and obligatory, so that both matters are treated in the same works. Thus the *Sāmavedhāna Brāhmaṇa* is a hand-book of incantations and sorcery, as is the *Adhvya Brāhmaṇa* portion of the *Śaṅkhya Brāhmaṇa*. M. Bloomfield<sup>4</sup> also holds that witchcraft became intimately blended with the holiest Vedic rites, the broad current of popular superstitions having penetrated into the higher religion of the Brāhman priests who were unable and possibly unwilling to cleanse it from the mass of folk-belief which surrounded it. W. Caland,<sup>5</sup> in his introduction to the *Kaṭika Sūtra*, enlarges on the agreement between the magic ritual of the old Vedas and the shamanism of the so-called savage. Indeed, some authorities would derive Brāhman from *brāhmaṇ*, 'a magic spell,' so that, if they are right, the Brāhman would seem to have been a magician before he was a priest.<sup>6</sup>

On the other hand, J. G. Fraser<sup>7</sup> also points out how in India, from the earliest times down to the present day, the real religion of the common folk appears always to have been a belief in a vast multitude of spirits of whom many, if not most, are mischievous and harmful. This belief subsists under the great religions, like Brāhmanism, Buddhism, and Islām, which may come and go; and in support of this thesis he cites Oldenberg for the Vedic and Monier Williams for the modern periods. It is to this deep-seated and universal belief in the existence of spirits, which fill all created matter—the sky, the earth, trees, beasts, the earthly waters and clouds—that many, if not all, magical practices are to be ascribed, at least in their inception. At every stage of a ritual sacrifice, e.g., spirits have to be appeased, and the very stake to which a willing victim is tethered for the sacrifice must be cut, shaped, and erected

<sup>1</sup> *PNQ* II. § 17, quoting from the *Makhsūṣ al-Adwiyāt*, or 'Treasury of Medicine,' of Muḥammad Ḥusain of Delhi, 1761, published by Newal Kishore, Cawnpore and Lucknow.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, pp. 69, 177 (for particular examples of the blending of magical with religious ritual in ancient India see pp. 311 f., 369 f., 476 f., and 523 f.).

<sup>3</sup> *La Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmaṇas*, Paris, 1898, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda* (SBE xlii. [1897] p. xiv f.).

<sup>5</sup> *Altindisches Zauberitual*, Amsterdam, 1900, p. ix.

<sup>6</sup> O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertums-kunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 687 f.

<sup>7</sup> *GB*, pt. I., *The Magic Art*, London, 1912, I. 228 f., p. vi. *The Soapagoat*, do. 1913, p. 89 ff., citing Oldenberg, p. 89 f., and Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, do. 1883, p. 210 f.

with the most minute precautions against their sinister influences. Every point in sacrificial ritual is symbolical, but the guiding principle in it is not magical, but religious. By the part of the stake which is dug in the sacrificer gains the lower world of the fathers, by its middle part that of men, and by its top the world of the gods. But this winning of the three worlds is conditional on his success in averting the onslaughts of evil spirits. In the whole ritual of animal-sacrifice at the stake (*yūpa*), as prescribed by the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, there is no trace of magic or of magical practices.<sup>1</sup>

A question of minor interest is whether Indian magic was derived from or has influenced that of Arabia and the Nearer East. The Skr. word *śūpa*, 'black magic,' may be the original form of *siḥ*, or, conversely, the Arab word *siḥ* may have been Sanskritized as *śūpa*. A typical rite in *śūpa* illustrates the spiritual basis of belief in magic. When performed with the object of destroying an enemy, it is known as *cheḥ*, or *ghāt*, in the United Provinces. A vessel is filled with iron nails, knives, etc., and sent by certain incantations through the air until it descends on the victim's head and kills him. But, if a river intervenes, a sacrifice to the spirit called *ghaṭbāi* (lit. 'ferryman'), which is supposed to guard the river, must be made to induce him to let the vessel cross.<sup>2</sup> Thus black magic has to reckon with the spirits, however it works and whatever its origin.

LITERATURE.—1. The Hindu literature is vast, but mostly unpublished. It comprises many treatises on special topics—e.g., the *Kaṣṭhāṭī* (?) *Sakṣi*, a Gurmukhi MS, contains only magic squares for all kinds of ailments.<sup>3</sup> It commences with the *Atharvaveda*, upon which and other texts is based Alfred Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Literatur: Vedische Opfer und Zauber* (= *GLAP* III. 2), Strassburg, 1897.

2. The Shi'a Muhammadans, who are prone to occultism, have six books on magic: the *Jā'far Jāma*, *Safinat al-nikāḥ*, *Taḥfat al-awṣāḥ*, *Makāḥ al-da'wā*, *Mukārim al-ibidāq*, and *Anwār al-Nawānīya*. The Sunnis also have books on magic: such are the *Mujarrabāt-i-Darb* and the *Nagāt-i-Sulaimān*.<sup>4</sup>

H. A. ROSE.

**MAGIC (Iranian).—I. Religion and magic.**—Although religion and magic are two essentially different things, the interpenetration of the two is fairly common; but nowhere are they so intricately commingled as in Mazdeism.

First of all, a clear line of demarcation has to be traced between the real doctrine of Zoroaster, as it is expounded in the *Gāthās*, and the Later Avesta.

In the *Gāthic* hymns we find a religion of a highly moral character. It admits of no deity besides Ahura Mazda except personified moral entities, and it expressly undertakes a struggle against the lower beliefs and the magical practices of the people of the time. The cult of the *daēvas* in general and the nocturnal orgiastic sacrifices in which *haoma* (*q.v.*) was drunk by the worshippers were specially condemned.<sup>5</sup>

The Later Avesta also anathematizes the sorcerers (*yāṭu*) and witches (*pairika*), but many of the beliefs and practices which Zoroaster had associated with them have found their way back into religion. The whole subject is rendered all the more intricate by the fact that a coherent system has been formed from a combination of the superior elements of the Zoroastrian creed (sophisticated to a great extent by adaptation to a lower standard of religious thought) and the popular and inferior beliefs of the Iranian people, including much that is in origin magical. As is well known, this is the system called dualism (*q.v.*). It is based on the assumption that there are two cosmic elements, the one created by

Ahura Mazda, the real god, and the other by his adversary, Angra Mainyu. Every creature of the wise lord is good, but all that has been created by his foe is evil. Each creator has thus communicated to his creatures his own specific nature and power. His creatures both share in their lord's natural and supernatural power and must assist him in the incessant struggle which is going on between the good and the evil spirit—a contest which will not be settled before the end of this world.

It follows that good creatures have a power over evil ones and evil over good. Of course, we may imagine that a good being, when he neutralizes the evil deeds of his opponent, acts, after all, as a depository of his creator's power; but in practice it is as though he had a real and effective power of his own against demons.

A good work is an act of war, capable of helping effectively towards the triumph of good over evil and having, therefore, an efficacy of its own to conjure and oppose the noxious activity of evil creatures such as evil spirits; and this is very much like the efficacy ascribed to magical rites. The only difference between such an activity and magic is that, with the latter, material interests are generally at stake, whereas, in the majority of Mazdean religious acts, the concern is mostly supra-terrestrial, being the religious purity of the faithful (*āṣavan*) as a preparation for the future happiness of the blest. The contrary state, the impurity of the imps of the *druj* (*dregvants*), has to be destroyed.

2. **Purification.**—For the Zoroastrian the normal means of getting rid of an impurity acquired by sin is to outweigh it by merit—a process which, of course, is far from being magical. Sin, however, being in Iranian eyes not only a breach of order which has to be repaired by repentance and good works, but a positive product of the evil spirits, of the evil creation, produces a substantial, though invisible, pollution—a moral disease like a bodily illness—and death likewise results from some mysterious contrivance of the originators of all evil. A material means of removing that pollution is therefore requisitioned, just as a remedy by its beneficial properties, as a piece of good creation, cures an ordinary disease. The power of purifying man from impurity belongs in the highest degree to water—an eminently good element of Mazda's creation. Besides water, other substances—e.g., *gaomaēza* (urine of cattle)—are supposed to have great power to purify. The rites of purification by means of these substances are strictly fixed, as in a magical proceeding: the priest has to sprinkle every part of the body in a definite order, beginning with the head, till the *druj* is expelled from the left toes, which are the last refuge of the evil spirit. Dogs have a specially powerful wholesome influence. More intricate ceremonies tending to the same result existed besides this relatively simple one—e.g., the great purification of the nine nights (*Pahl. barašnūm nū šaba*) expounded in *Vend. ix.*; the ground is prepared, holes are dug, and furrows are drawn, according to a strict ritual; *gaomaēza* is put into the holes, the patient rubs the ground, and is sprinkled with water and perfumes by means of a spoon and a stick of a fixed size, etc. The proceeding cannot, however, be completely identified with magic, because, however material the concept of purity may have been in the thought of the Iranian people at that time, it was, after all, a duty not confined to human interests in this world, because the activity of the purifying substances and acts derives from an essentially beneficent power, whereas the counter-spells, although tending to

<sup>1</sup> J. P. Vogel, 'The Sacrificial Poets of Isapur,' in *Archaeological Survey Report for 1910-11*, Calcutta, 1914, p. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup> *HNQ* I. § 851.

<sup>3</sup> *PNQ* II. § 901.

<sup>4</sup> *Id.* I. § 886.

<sup>5</sup> Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 71 f.

<sup>1</sup> Moulton, p. 144.

neutralise noxious influences, are regarded as possessing a power of the same kind as the one which they oppose, and, lastly, because the rites, in spite of their magical tendencies, are devoid of all mystery. They are a public and accepted procedure, assumed—wrongly, of course—to date back to the Prophet's teaching, and forming part of the sacred struggle of good against evil. Man is supposed to make use of the weapons which Mazda has put into his hands for a contest in which he is serving the lord's interests. Nevertheless, it is clear that a real degeneration towards magic has taken place in these ceremonies, and also that many an ancient magical prescription for averting evils may have been introduced. This process is analogous to that which we observe in Mazdaism from Zoroaster to the Later Avesta period.

Moral beings, like the *amesha spentas* ([g.v.] justice, good spirit, piety, etc.), have been turned into—or, rather, identified with—the genii of fire, cattle, earth, etc., and Sraosha, 'obedience,' has become a good spirit protecting men during the night against demons and sorcerers, having the cock and the dog as his assistants in this task (*Bund.* xix. 33).<sup>1</sup>

3. Sacrifice.—Of sacrifice we may say much the same as of purifications. Neither to the Indians nor to the Iranians was the sacrifice properly a magical act. Oldenberg<sup>2</sup> is quite right when he says that sacrifice is in Vedic times a gift to the god, which, in the mind of the sacrificer, is to influence the intentions of the deity, not by way of compulsion, but by securing his powerful goodwill. This conception, however, was likely to degenerate, and did. Indra and Agni are sometimes described as being mastered by the sacrificer.

Agni, the fire, is regarded as a miniature of the sun, the great fire, and, by kindling fire, one gets the sun to rise. Indeed, the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*<sup>3</sup> says that the sun would not rise if the fire-sacrifice did not take place. A similar process can be traced in Irān, where the sacrifice is given its place in the general cosmic conflict, so that it

'is more than an act of worship; it is an act of assistance to the gods. Gods, like men, need food and drink to be strong; like men, they need praise and encouragement to be of good cheer. When not strengthened by the sacrifice, they fly helpless before their foes.'<sup>4</sup>

Sacrifice has thus a value of its own independently of the will of the gods. It is an act of war, helping God in His struggle against the evil creation, so much so that gods also have to practise cult:

'Aṭharmaṣd performed the spiritual Yasht ceremony with the archangels (*amēshēspendān*) in the Rapiṭvīn Gāh, and in the Yasht he supplied every means for overcoming the adversary.'<sup>5</sup>

The value of sacrifice in itself is also to be discerned in the fact that it produces merits independently of the piety and attention of the sacrificer. If he does not obtain them for himself, they are not lost, but are collected in a store (*ganj*) of merits.<sup>6</sup> The sacrifice of the *haoma* (=Ind. *soma*), although itself not really magical in principle, was specially prone to develop in that direction. The *haoma*=*soma*, in the thought of the proto-Aryans, was a plant wherein resided an extraordinary strength of life capable of giving immortality to the gods, who were supposed to live on it like the Homeric gods on *ambrosia*, and of giving a superexaltation of life to man, in whom it

caused intoxication. As was said above, the *haoma* orgiastic sacrifice had been banished from Gāthic religion in company with the magical procedure of the *daśva*-worshippers. In the post-Gāthic period we see it reappear, but it has been deprived of its savage character and turned into a mystical drink.<sup>1</sup> Not only was it supposed to confer a greater intensity of human life, but it was regarded as a highly beneficial spirit, imparting to man also the gift of spiritual life and a title to the supra-terrestrial reward.<sup>2</sup> It led to a division into two *haomas*.<sup>3</sup> The one, the actual plant, was the yellow *haoma*, the other, supra-terrestrial, called the white *haoma*, was identified with the tree *gaokerena* (Pahl. *gōkart*) 'that stands in the middle of the sea *Vouru-Kaša* . . . that is called "the All-healer" and on which rest the seeds of all plants.'<sup>4</sup> It is by drinking the *gaokerena* that men on the day of the resurrection will become immortal. For that reason it was customary to put a drop of *haoma* on the lips of a dying Zoroastrian. *Haoma*, having been made the principle of all life and fecundity, was supposed to receive its healing power from Vohu Manah, and to be the son of Ahura Mazda. This mysterious power of the drink of life is an approach to magic, although it is extended to domains to which healing and vivifying power cannot normally attain—e.g., the gift of swiftness to horses in races, of healthy children to pregnant women, and of bridegrooms to girls. Moreover, it is, in the traditions of the Indo-Iranians, closely connected with a mystical bird which took the *soma*=*haoma* from the place where it lay hidden and brought it to gods and men.<sup>5</sup> The Avesta speaks of the bird Saēna, which is the Simurgh of the Persians, who make him play the same part as the bird Vārengana in Yt. xiv. 35 f.—a part which is completely magical.<sup>6</sup>

'Get thee a feather of the wide-feathered bird Vārengana, Oh Spitama Zarathushtra. With that feather thou shalt rub thy body; with that feather thou shalt curse back thine enemy. He who hath a bone of the mighty bird or a feather of the mighty bird gaineth (divine) favour. No one, (however) magnificent, smiteth him or turneth him to flight; he first gaineth homage, he first (gaineth) glory; the feather of the bird of birds bestoweth help.'

Thus we have here to do with a real amulet.

4. Spells.—If the sacrifice is apt to degenerate into a magical rite, prayer may become a spell. The message of Zoroaster to man is a *manthra*, a noble word which properly means 'utterance,' 'word,' 'ordinance,' but has in the Later Avesta the meaning of 'spell' and, indeed, the sermons of the Prophet, instead of being a subject for meditation, are chanted in a dialect obsolete for ages, and have degenerated into mere spells, the exact pronunciation of their words achieving what their author sought by pure life and diligence in a noble calling.<sup>7</sup> The finest Mazdean prayers, such as the *Ahuna Vairya* ([g.v.] Pārl, *honour*)—a kind of profession of faith—have stiffened into a mechanical repetition of formulae, and have acquired an infinite power of their own, so much so that they become a weapon for the Creator Himself. The *Bundahish* (i. 21) narrates how Aṭharmaṣd, having recited the *Ahuna* and uttered its twenty-one words, confounded the evil spirit and secured the victory over him, in the first days of creation. The power of the same prayer and of some others is also expounded in *Vend.* xix. (cf. also Yt. xvii. 20). Recited as many times as is prescribed on every occasion, they help as a spell the purification of man, which is

<sup>1</sup> Moulton, p. 72 f.

<sup>2</sup> O. P. Tiele, *Gedachten in de Oudheid*, Amsterdam, 1896-1901, II. 222.

<sup>3</sup> Chatellin, § 172.

<sup>4</sup> Yt. xii. 17.

<sup>5</sup> So Odin as an eagle carries away the mead. The victor Kránn was supposed to have shot off a feather of the eagle (Oldenberg, p. 447).

<sup>6</sup> Art. CHARMES AND ARUMES (Iranian), vol. III. p. 442.

<sup>7</sup> Moulton, p. 153.

<sup>1</sup> L. O. Chatellin, *Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme*, Paris, 1884, § 106.

<sup>2</sup> H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 304 f.

<sup>3</sup> n. III. 15 (Oldenberg, p. 110); *SBK* xii. (1882) 223.

<sup>4</sup> Moulton, p. 417, note.

<sup>5</sup> *Bund.* II. § 9, tr. West, *SBK* v. (1880) 14.

<sup>6</sup> Chatellin, § 260. The Yasht is the ritual reading of the *Yama*.

primarily attained by the marvellous power of the substances and ceremonies mentioned above.

No wonder, therefore, if the *manthra* is mentioned as a regular means of curing diseases. *Vend.* xx. distinguishes healing by plants, by the knife, and by the *manthra*, the last being the most powerful. A series of formulae is to be found there for repelling both diseases and evil beings. The prayer contained in *Vend.* xx. 11 is supposed to be peculiarly powerful. It is directed to Airyaman, the healing god *par excellence*. *Vend.* xxi. 18-23 is also a spell against all kinds of diseases, consisting of some fragments of other parts of the *Vendidad* and of some very well known prayers. These are the means that Airyaman has at his disposal for curing the 99,999 diseases created by Angra Mainyu for the bane of mankind (*Vend.* xxii.). Airyaman is an old Indo-Iranian god: in the Veda he is an *aditya* (Aryaman) who is generally found in company with Varuna and Mitra. He is a beneficent and helpful god, but in Persia he has been narrowed down to the character of a healing god. He survives in Parsiism as the *īzād* of heaven, but, in his quality of healing god, he is replaced by Faridūn (= Thraētaona), who, having killed the dragon Azi Dahāka, is supposed to be a powerful enemy to the works of evil spirits. The Iranians knew, moreover, of a healing fruit, which, according to *Bund.* iii. 18, Ahura Mazda pounded up before his coming to the ox, 'so that its damage and discomfort from the calamity (*sanīšn*) might be less.'<sup>1</sup> On the same footing as the *manthra* for healing diseases must, of course, be put the numerous incantations and mystical formulae for removing the pollution inflicted upon anything which has come into contact with a corpse. *Vend.* viii. 14 ff., e.g., explains that a road whereon the dead bodies of dogs or men have been carried cannot be traversed again by men or flocks, till the yellow dog with four eyes or the white dog with yellow ears has gone three times across it and an *atharvan* has gone along it, saying aloud the fiend-smiting words of the *honovar*. *Vend.* vii. 28 ff. contains the method of purifying wood which has been in contact with a corpse, and formulae for all kinds of good elements infected by the same pollution (cf. *Vend.* x., xi., etc.). In such cases the *Gāthās* had become a mere spell (cf. *Vend.* x. 1 ff.). The reason of this custom with regard to corpses is originally a magical one, which has been fitted into the general Mazdean system. It is the old conviction of mankind that death, like illness, cannot occur without the maleficent intervention of some spirit, which has therefore to be averted. For a Mazdean to die was to pass into the power of the *druj* Nasu. Hence it was necessary to minimize the evil produced by this demon by protecting all good beings and substances from its power and freeing, as soon as possible, the beings or substances that had fallen into its hands. The intervention of maleficent beings and the utility of spells were felt in many other circumstances—e.g., in the case of a woman on the eve of child-birth (*Vend.* xxi. 8, 12, 16), or when some accident occurred to cattle.<sup>2</sup>

5. Fire.—Among the elements which have to be kept carefully from any pollution, fire occupies a prominent position. It is well known that among the Parsis it enjoys a veneration which is not far from being superstitious. Here, the process is not a degenerative one, but rather the elevation of an elementary and, to a great extent, magical belief which is common to many nations, but which is specially Indo-Iranian (cf. art. FIRE, FIRE-GODS, § 6 f.). Fire is the great purifier, which illuminates the night, keeps off bitter cold and wild beasts, and, as such, is the great enemy of demons and

the friend and ally of man. It repels diseases, and it plays an important part in the proceeding of Indian magic, as is expounded in the *Atharva-veda*<sup>3</sup>—a name which is taken from the *atharvans*, who were originally priests of fire. The Iranian myth of Atar's victory over the serpent Azi Dahāka (*Yt.* xix. 45 ff.) belongs to the same order of thought. Indeed, fire, in the conception of the Persian *atharvan*, keeps closer to its original part, inasmuch as it does not become, as in India, the agent which conveys to the gods the substances of sacrifice. It remains the great averter of everything impure, and must on no account be put in contact with anything that is not pure, least of all with corpses or with anything coming from the body. It has become an earthly form of the eternal, infinite, godly light, the purest offspring of the good spirit, the purest part of his pure creation,<sup>4</sup> the weapon of Ahura (*Ys.* li. 9). It is the principle of all life, in men as well as in plants, the son of Ahura Mazda.<sup>5</sup> We can distinguish several forms of it, among which the *bahrām* fire is the most sacred. It is supposed to be an emanation on earth from the fire above and the most powerful protection of the land against foes and fiends.<sup>6</sup> It took its name from Verethraghna (Skr. *vṛtrahan*), in Indian myth the genius of victory and the slayer of the demon *Vṛtra*.

6. Influence of stars.—Astrology, as is well known, was the chief concern of the Magi, as the ancients describe them to us; but there is abundant evidence that this element of activity was not of Iranian origin. The proto-Aryan element of astrology was extremely small, in contrast with Babylonian religion.<sup>7</sup> We have, however, the cult of Tištrya, the star (Sirius) which was regarded as a good genius that brought rain after having slain the drought demon Apaoša (*Yt.* viii. 20 ff.). It is a very good genius which, at the dawn of creation and before man was created, destroyed the noxious creatures by an effusion of beneficent waters. It would be an exaggeration to treat as real magic such beliefs concerning the part of Tištrya as we find in the Avesta. There is reason to believe, however, that in some parts of Persia rain spells were in use. The *Great Bundahishn* says:

'The plague created against Saistān is abundance of witchcraft; and that character appears from this, that all people from that place practise astrology: those wizards produce . . . snow, hail, spiders, and locusts.'

On the other hand, it was a current belief among Iranians that planets had a malign influence; but this does not oblige us to admit that they had any belief in the influences of stars upon men's fate (cf. art. FATE [Iranian]).

7. Recent superstitions.—Among the superstitions prevalent among the Parsis and the Muhammadan Persians many customs, no doubt, go back to old Mazdean practices or, more probably, to popular beliefs which persisted beside the official creed.

The great power assigned, among the old Mazdeans, to plants in general, and in particular to some specially marvellous ones, as well as the extensive practice, among the Babylonian Magi,<sup>8</sup> of natural or magical treatment of diseases by herbs, probably explains the important part played by plants in the superstitious customs attached to the ancient Persian festivals as described by Persian writers<sup>9</sup>—e.g., rubbing with olive oil on the day of Naūrūs as a riddance from sorrows during the new year, eating a pomegranate on the feast of Mihr (Mithra) to avert dangers, hitting

<sup>1</sup> V. Henry, *Magie dans l'Inde*, Paris, 1904, pp. 4, 186, 222.

<sup>2</sup> Darmesteter, *SBE* iv. 3 (1896) p. lxxvi.

<sup>3</sup> Tiele, p. 303; cf. M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914, pp. 42 f., 124-127.

<sup>4</sup> Darmesteter, p. lxxiv.

<sup>5</sup> Moulton, p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> Moulton, p. 200.

<sup>7</sup> Pliny, *HN* xxx. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Decourdemanche, *RTP* xxiii. 306.

<sup>1</sup> *SBE* v. 12.

<sup>2</sup> W. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, Erlangen, 1892, p. 232.

an eating animal with an orange on the day of Ādar in November as a way of securing happiness, giving garlic to one's friends on the Gōš rāz (14th Dec.), and boiling herbs on the same day, in order to get rid of demons, fumigation with liquorice on the day of Dī-mīhr rāz in order to avoid starvation or misery, eating apples and daffodils on the same day in order to secure success in one's enterprises, placing betel, walnuts, etc., on a pregnant woman's bosom, to make her fertile,<sup>1</sup> etc.

The power of fire against evil beings is illustrated by the lighting of a fire on the night of the Bahmān (Vohu Manah) festival (10th Jan.). This fire, on which perfumes were thrown, was lit under the image of the genius in order to repel wild beasts. During the whole night it was guarded by standing Persians.<sup>2</sup> Anquetil du Perron reports that on 15 Spēndarmat the Parsis used to hold a spell, written on a sheet of paper, in the smoke of a fire, in which they had put pieces of horn from an animal killed on the festival of Mihr, cotton seed, resin, and garlic, in order to remove the *dēvs* (*daēvas*) from their houses.<sup>3</sup> The magic for rain has survived in the custom of pouring out water on 30th Jan. in order to obtain rain during the year.<sup>4</sup>

In the last days of the Persian year the souls of the departed are said to come and pay a visit to their relatives, who prepare a sumptuous meal for them. The souls—or, rather, the *fravashis* (q.v.)—are supposed to gaze at the food and smell it.<sup>5</sup> This also, no doubt, is a survival of the beliefs concerning the *fravashis*.

The use of the Gāthic hymns and of the chief Zoroastrian prayers as spells against diseases or against the evil eye is current to this day among the representatives of the Mazdean faith.

<sup>1</sup> In order to avert the influence of the evil eye or to cure a child of some disease, a parent will occasionally hire the mobeds . . . to read from the Yasna, the Yashta, or the Khordah Avesta; and when women are childless, they will sometimes pay to have the Vendīdād Sadah recited by the priests, in order that the curse of sterility may be removed.<sup>6</sup>

J. J. Modi knows of charms for diseases of the eye<sup>7</sup> or for avoiding pollution from contact with all that comes from the human body—e.g., hair or nails.<sup>8</sup> Amulets are also used for the same purpose.<sup>9</sup>

LITERATURE.—There is no special book on Iranian magic. The general bibliography on Mazdaism has to be consulted, especially the translation of the Avesta by J. Darmesteter (*AMG*, Paris, 1892-98); J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913. For spells and charms see literature at end of art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Iranian). For Parsis cf. J. A. Decourdemanche, in *RTP* xliii. [1906] 209 ff.; D. Menant, *Les Parsis*, Paris, 1898.

A. J. CARNOY.

MAGIC (Japanese).—Japanese magic is such a vast subject that, if we were to treat it systematically, with all its logical divisions and subdivisions, it would be almost impossible to give even a bare index to the volume that would have to be written to describe it. We shall, therefore, dismiss everything that springs from foreign influences, and even in Japanese magic proper we shall ignore the general classifications under which the innumerable details supplied by the rich literature of the country might be arranged. We shall confine our attention to emphasizing the essential point, viz. the existence of magic in the very heart

of the national religion, in the most authentic documents of pure Shinto.

For this purpose we must apply chiefly to the ancient rituals (*norito*) collected in the *Engishiki* in the 10th cent., although several of these—and precisely those that contain most of the magical element—were certainly composed at a much earlier date, even before the most ancient mythico-historical works, the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, which were written in the 8th century. By glancing over the most typical of these *norito*, and explaining them with the help of certain related passages in the *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi* or in other equally ancient sources, rather than by abstract classifications, we shall gain a vivid idea of what Japanese magic was in its most ancient and most original form.

The old rituals seem to have been not so much prayers as magical formulae, solemn incantations, and we shall see that at the same time they were enveloped in powerful rites by which the magician priests of primitive Japan conquered their gods.

This magical spirit appears at the very beginning of the collection, in the 1st ritual, *Tashigahi no Matsuri*, which was said every year at seed-time to obtain a good harvest. The chief priest (*nakatsomi*), who recited it in the name of the emperor, addressed the gods in these words:

'I believe in the presence of the sovereign gods of the Harvest. If the sovereign gods will bestow in many-bundled ears and in luxuriant ears the late-ripening harvest which they will bestow, the late-ripening harvest which will be produced by the dripping of foam from the arms and by drawing the mud together between the opposing thighs, then I will fulfil their praises by setting up the firstfruits in a thousand ears and many hundred ears, raising high the sake-jars, filling and ranging in rows the bellies of the sake-jars, in juice and in ear.'

Other offerings are then enumerated, among which we notice a white horse, a white pig, and a white cock. Now, a 9th cent. document, the *Kogoshiki*, gives the legendary origin of this detail: Mi-toahi no Kami, 'the god of the august harvest,' had cast his curse on the rice fields; but the diviners obtained from him, by the gift of these same white animals, the secret of a magical process which enabled them to save the imperilled crop. The ritual is, therefore, based on a history of magic. The main point to remember from this first text, however, is the conditional character of the offerings which are to obtain the desired result. The same precaution is found again, in the same words, towards the end of this document, where the officiant invokes the gods who preside over the departure of the waters on which irrigation depends. This ritual, therefore, is not so much a prayer as a contract, a matter-of-fact agreement, by which the gods receive in advance the remuneration promised in exchange for the services expected from them, and thus find themselves morally compelled to render them. We accordingly see at the very beginning the familiar nature of the relations between these very human gods and the priestly magicians who exploit their power.

In the 2nd ritual, *Kasuga Matsuri*, we again find this idea of the bond which must unite the offerings with the services rendered; for it is 'in consequence' of these offerings that the gods are asked to protect the sovereign and his court. We may also observe that, of the four gods worshipped in the temple of Kasuga, the first two, Take-mika-dzuchi and Futsu-nushi, were represented by magical swords (cf. *Kojiki*, tr. B. H. Chamberlain, 2nd ed., Tokyo, 1906, p. 38), and that the other two, Koyané and his wife, are connected with the famous eclipse in which that god, by his 'powerful ritual words,' helped to bring back the sun-goddess (*Kojiki*, 64).

There is the same spirit in the 3rd ritual, *Hirose Oho-imi no Matsuri*, devoted to the goddess of food.

<sup>1</sup> Menant, *Les Parsis*, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Decourdemanche, p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Decourdemanche, p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York, 1906, p. 378 f.; Khudayar Shariyar, in *Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Madressa Jubilee Vol.*, Bombay, 1914, p. 290 f.

<sup>5</sup> J. J. Modi, 'Charms or Amulets for some Diseases of the Eye,' *JASB* iii. [1894] 833-345 (reprinted in Modi's *Anthropological Papers*, Bombay [1911], pp. 43-50).

<sup>6</sup> Modi, 'Two Iranian Incantations,' *JASB* viii. [1900] 557-573 (reprinted in *Anthropological Papers*, pp. 340-354).

<sup>7</sup> Modi, 'Nirang-i-Jashan-i-Burzigarān' and 'An Avesta Amulet for Contracting Friendship,' *JASB* v. [1900] 398-405, 418-425 (reprinted in *Anthropological Papers*, pp. 122-129).

<sup>8</sup> Menant, p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> *Ib.*; Menant, p. 108.



Her worshippers make a bargain with her; while bringing her various offerings, they promise her others if the harvest is very abundant.

The 4th ritual, *Tatsuta no Kase no Kami no Matsuri*, is just as characteristic, and, moreover, relates its own legendary origin. For several years unknown gods have bungled all the crops, and the diviners have not been able to discover who these gods are. Then the sovereign himself 'deigns to conjure them,' and they reveal themselves to him in a dream. They are 'Heaven's Pillar's augustness and Country's Pillar's augustness,' the gods of the winds who maintain the order of the world. They require certain offerings, the founding of a temple at Tatsuta, and a liturgy, by means of which they 'will bless and ripen the things produced by the great People of the region under heaven, firstly the five sorts of grain, down to the least leaf of the herba.' Here it is the gods who state their conditions. The people hasten to fulfil them 'without omission,' but evidently the recollection of past calamities has left some mistrust, for, when making the present offerings, they announce future gifts for the autumn: if, between now and then, the gods have deigned not to send 'bad winds and rough waters,' but to 'ripen and bless' the harvest, they will grant them the firstfruits of it. This will be their small commission.

We shall pass over the 5th, 6th, and 7th rituals, which are not so interesting, and come to the 8th, *Ohotono-Hogahi*, i.e. 'Luck-bringer of the Great Palace.' This title itself indicates the magical character of the document, and, in fact, we find the ritual defined in its own text in the words, *amatsu kusushi iha-hi-goto*, 'the celestial magical protective words.' It is a formula the recitation of which wards off all calamity from the palace, as an amulet would do; this is shown by the importance ascribed to the perfect regularity of the words pronounced; for, in another passage, certain 'corrector'-gods (*naho*) are begged to rectify all the omissions that they may have seen or heard in the rites or the words of the ceremony. This ceremony itself throws abundant light on the magical character of the ritual of which it was a part. We have a description of it in the *Gi-shiki* of the 9th cent. (see E. Satow, in *TASJ*, vol. ix. pt. ii. [1881] p. 192 f.). A priestly retinue, in which we distinguish chiefly the *nakatomi*, the *imibe* ('abstaining priests'), and the *vestals*, goes through the palace in every direction; and in different places, from the great audience-hall to the bath-room, even to the emperor's privy, the *vestals* sprinkle rice and *sake*, while the *imibe* hang precious stones on the four corners of the rooms visited by them. We observe here an application of the custom, called *sammai*, which consisted in scattering rice to ward off evil spirits. Whatever is the reason of this custom—whether it is simply a bait thrown to the demons or perhaps a symbolical use of grains whose shape represents one of the aspects of the generative power, of the vital force which combats illness and death—the rite in question was very frequently practised in Japanese magic. Rice was scattered inside the hut in which a woman was about to be confined; in the divination at cross-roads (*tsuji-ura*; see art. DIVINATION [Japanese]), a boundary was sometimes marked on the road, where rice was also strewn, in order to take afterwards as an oracle the words spoken by the first passer-by who crossed this bewitched line; and an old legend tells how, when the son of the gods descended from heaven to Mount Takachiho, grains of rice were thrown at random in the air to disperse the darkness from the sky. Just the same is the magical use of jewels to combat evil influences. Through the whole of Japanese mythology there is the sparkle of jewels, some of which are talismans—

jewels which, at the time of an eclipse, the gods suspended to the highest branches of the sacred *cleyera*, and whose brilliance recalled the sun (*Kojiki*, 64); jewels which, in another famous story, enabled their possessor to make the tide flow or ebb at his will (*ib.* 150); jewels which even aimed at resuscitating the dead, as we shall see below. We can, therefore, easily understand the magical rôle of the red jewels which, paraded in the imperial apartments, caused the dark threats of the invisible everywhere to retire before their brightness. Still another point to be remarked is that, according to the description cited, the *imibe* recite the ritual 'in a low voice.' Polynesian sorcerers also said their prayers in a low singing, perhaps even hissing, tone, similar to the hissing, whispering voice which they attributed to their gods; and even in Japan, in the divination by the harp (*koto-ura*), one of the practices of the officiant was a complicated whistle. All this magical atmosphere which surrounds the ritual suits its text very well. It points out, first of all, the propitiatory rites which the *imibe* have accomplished in hewing down the trees intended for the construction of the palace. Then it recalls the mythical recollections which assure beforehand the efficacy of the formula recited. Then the protector-gods of the palace are entreated to ward off certain calamities, several of which—e.g., serpent-bites, or the droppings of birds falling through the smoke-hole in the roof—are ritual 'offences.' Lastly, in the same way as it invokes the corrector-gods for every possible omission, the text insists on this fact—that the 'innumerable strings of luck-bringing grains' have been made by sacred jewellers 'taking care to avoid all pollution and to observe perfect cleanness.' The care in all these details shows the magical importance attached to each of the rites of the ceremony, and to the most insignificant words of the incantation.

We shall omit the 9th ritual, *Mikado Matsuri*, 'Festival of the Sublime Gates,' devoted to the gods who guard the entrance of the palace against the evil influences of the 'crooked' gods (*maga*), and come to the 10th, which is much more important. This is the 'Ritual of the Great Purification' (*Oho-harahi*). This ritual was recited by the chief of the *nakatomi*, at the end of the 6th and the 12th months, to blot out all the transgressions, both moral and ritual, that the whole people had committed in the interval. The choice of these dates is in itself significant: the summer ceremony recalls the lustrations formerly practised on the eve of St. John in different countries of Europe, and the ceremony at the end of the year corresponds with the need of renewal experienced by the majority of men at this time, and which, in Japan, still takes the popular form of a dramatized exorcism called *tsuina*, 'expulsion of the demons.' The Great Purification included various rites; but the ritual is often mentioned as if it itself formed the whole ceremony—which proves the magical power ascribed to the words recited. This ritual begins by stating clearly that it is the emperor who 'deigns to purify and wash away' (*harahi-tamahi kiyome-tamafu*) the offences committed—from which we see that the gods who, a little later, are to be invoked to intervene really play a part inferior to that of the emperor, and act only, so to speak, at his command. The right of absolution which he exercises thus arises from the general sovereignty conferred 'respectfully' upon him by the celestial gods at the beginning of the dynasty, as the continuation of the text immediately recalls. Then follows the enumeration of ritual crimes, voluntary or not, which are to be effaced (see Revon, *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise*, Paris, 1910, p. 28 f.). We may select from this list at least two offences con-



nected with our subject. The one is the 'planting of wands' (*kushi-sashi*) in rice-fields, probably with incantations—a process which an ancient native interpretation explains as the erecting of magic boundaries on the field of which one claims to be proprietor, though perhaps it is an example of pointed wands secretly stuck into the mud to hurt the bare feet of a neighbour, just as, among the Malays, a person in flight retarded the pursuit of his adversaries by this means. The other offence (*maji-mono seru tsumi*) is the 'performing of witchcraft,' either in a general way (cf. *Kojiki*, 326 f.) or in particular against a neighbour's animals (if we connect this passage with the expression *kemono-tafushi*, 'to kill animals,' which precedes it). In any case the Chinese character employed shows that it is a question of black magic; and that is why the *norito*, although it is itself a magical text, does not hesitate to condemn it. The ritual afterwards shows that, when these faults are committed, the great *nakatomi* has to prepare some twigs in a certain way, doubtless intended to form a sort of purificatory broom, then to recite 'the powerful ritual words of the celestial ritual' (*ama tsu norito no futo norito-goto*). The native commentators tried for a long time to find out to what mysterious incantation this passage could possibly allude, without seeing that it simply referred to the *norito* itself. This is the 'celestial' ritual which the gods revealed on high to the ancestor of the emperors, and whose 'powerful words' his descendant causes to be repeated—an expression intended to recall the intrinsic virtue of this formula. When the high priest recites it thus, according to the text of the ritual itself, the gods of heaven and earth will approach to listen, and all offences will disappear, being swept off, carried away to the ocean by the goddess of the torrents, swallowed by the goddess of the sea-currents, driven to the nether regions by the god whose breath chases before it all impurities, and there they will be seized at last by a subterranean deity who will banish them for ever. Clearly these deities are only the four wheels of the machine which the emperor sets in motion by the hand of the great *nakatomi*, the magician who knows the sacred words which even the gods obey. As for the rest, to make more certain, they bring a horse whose erect ears will incite these gods to listen attentively, just as the crowing cocks, the lighted fire—all these magical processes of the myth of the eclipse (*Kojiki*, 63-65)—would recall the sun, or as, in another account of the old Shinto annals (*Nihongi*, tr. W. G. Aston, London, 1896, i. 106), one had only to whistle to raise the wind. Then an order is given to the *urabe* ('diviners') to throw into the river the expiatory offerings, to which a mysterious sympathy unites the sins themselves, which will disappear along with the objects to which they have been attached. The ritual finishes, therefore, with a last example of the magic which has inspired the whole of it.

We may mention the 11th ritual along with this one. It is an invocation which the hereditary scholars of Yamato pronounced immediately before the ceremony of the Great Purification, and in which they presented the emperor with a silver-gilt human effigy, which would play the part of scapegoat by removing calamities from him, and a gilded sword on which he breathed before it was taken from him, with the same intention of driving away, after this magical transfer, both the sins committed and their material support.

Another ritual which is plainly magical is the 12th, the title of which, *Ho-shidsumu*, 'Appeasing of the Fire,' shows that its purpose was not to worship the god of fire, but to banish him from the palace. As in the 10th ritual, the text first recalls

the celestial revelation which has confided to the emperor the 'powerful words' by means of which he is superior to this god. Then it recounts the atrocious crime of this 'child with the wicked heart,' who caused his mother's death by burning her when she gave him birth (cf. *Kojiki*, 32-33); and tells how Izanami herself, cursing this son who had caused her death, came up from the nether regions to give birth to the water-goddess, the gourd, the river-plant, and the princesses of the clay mountains, four divine things whose magical use against fire she immediately taught. Then, in order that this wicked god 'may deign not to be terribly lively in the palace of the august sovereign,' he is loaded with offerings, which have the effect of captivating and subduing him. This ritual was accompanied by rites which consisted mainly in the lighting of a fire by the *urabe* in the four outside corners of the precincts of the palace, with the primitive apparatus (*hi-kiri-saw*) of which a specimen may be seen in the University Museum, Oxford.

The 13th ritual, *Michi-ake*, also aimed at employing certain gods to combat others. Those who were invoked on this occasion were three gods of roads and cross-roads, whose phallic character caused them to be looked upon as 'preventive gods' (*sake no kami*) against the epidemics sent by the demons. The ritual begins by reminding these protector-gods, without great reverence, that their duties were inaugurated in heaven itself, where they already served the son of the gods. It then dictates to them what they must do:

'Whenever from the Root-country, the Bottom-country, there may come savage and unfriendly beings, consort not and parley not with them, but if they go below, keep watch below, if they go above, keep watch above, protecting us against pollution with a night guarding and a day guarding.'

In return they are presented with offerings, which they are to enjoy while defending the great roads 'like a multitudinous assemblage of rocks,' and, finally, the celebrant insists once more on the 'powerful words' of his formula.

The next ritual, the 14th, was devoted to the *Oho-nihe*, 'Great Offering of Food.' Before eating the new rice of the year, the ancient Japanese performed a ceremony called *Nihi-name*, 'new tasting,' which had a propitiatory purpose towards the spirit of the rice (*Uga no Mi-tama*). The *Oho-nihe* was a more solemn *Nihi-name*, celebrated some time after the accession of the emperor, and constituting a sort of religious coronation for them. The ritual relating to this festival contains nothing very curious in itself; but it is interesting to find that the very complicated ceremony with which it was connected included a long series of preparations, in which magic occupied a large place, just as in the essential part of the festival, when the emperor in person, surrounded by ladies of honour who repeated a mysterious formula, shared in the repast which he had just offered to the gods.

The 15th ritual is another document whose magical value appears as soon as it is placed in its psychological surroundings. It is entitled *Mi-tama shidsumuru*, which shows that its purpose was 'to appease the august spirit,' i.e. the spirit of the emperor. It was a case of keeping the imperial soul in his body, of recalling it if it seemed to wish to escape—in a word, of renewing magically the vital force of the sovereign for the coming year and thus prolonging his life. This is the meaning of the ceremony called *Chintonosai*, which was celebrated at the end of the year in the sanctuary of the priests of the court (see *Nihongi*, ii. 373). Now, the gloss identifies this festival with an ancient ceremony called *Mi-tama furishiki*, 'shaking of the august jewels,' which again plunges us into deep magic. The *Kin'yiki* (ii. 2) says, in fact,

that, when the sun-goddess gave the investiture to the ancestor of the emperors, she bestowed upon him ten precious treasures :

'one mirror of the ofing, one mirror of the shore, one eight-hands-breadth sword, one jewel of birth, one jewel of return from death, one perfect jewel, one jewel road-returning (evil things by the road they came), one serpent-scarf, one bee-scarf, and scarf of various things.' She added: 'In cases of illness, shake these treasures and repeat to them the words: *Hi, fu, mi, yo, itsu, mei, nana, ya, hokoro, tani*, and shake them *yura-yura* (onomatopoeia). If thou doest so the dead will certainly return to life.'

The objects enumerated by the sun-goddess are talismans, several of which occur in the most ancient Japanese mythology (see *Kojiki*, 86, 150, 324, etc.). As for the incantation, it represents simply the series of numbers from one to ten, which demonstrates its intrinsic power, independent of the meaning of the words. We know, besides, that the same incantation was recited at this festival by young sacerdotal virgins (*mi-kamu-ko*), who performed the sacred *kagura*, in imitation of the dance of Uzume in the eclipse myth (*Kojiki*, 64-65), while a *nakatomi* knotted threads, which were clearly meant to retain the imperial soul, and which he shut up in a closed vessel.

We shall omit rituals 16 to 24, which refer exclusively to the offices of the temples of Ise; it will be sufficient to mention in this group the formula of the 23rd ritual, for the installing of a princess as vestal:

'The offering of a sacred princess of the blood imperial to serve as the deities' staff, having first, according to custom, observed the rules of religious purity for three years, is to the end that thou mayst cause the Sovereign Grandchild to live peacefully and firmly as long as Heaven and Earth, the Sun and the Moon may last. I, the Great Nakatomi, holding the dread spear by the middle, with deepest awe pronounce this dedication of her by the Mikado to the end that she may serve as an august staff.'

We have here evidently a survival of the 'abstainer' of primitive Japan, whose asceticism assured on pain of death the good fortune and health of the village, in the same way as here the sacrifice of the imperial virgin is to guarantee the happiness and long life of the sovereign (cf. art. ASCETICISM [Japanese]).

The 25th ritual, of a more general interest, is entitled: *Tatari-gami wo utsushi-tatematsuru norito*, 'Ritual for the Respectful Removal of the Gods who send Plagues.' In the 18th ritual the gods of roads were made to intervene against these wicked gods; now they themselves are directly addressed. It is, therefore, a real formula of exorcism. The text begins by recalling how the supreme council of the celestial gods, wishing to 'pacify' the country before the descent of the future emperor, sent Futsu-nushi and Take-mikadzuchi, who triumphed over the terrestrial gods and 'silenced the rocks, trees, and the least leaf of herbs likewise that had spoken.' After this warning, undisguised and all the more plain because, according to the ritual, the wicked gods know well, 'by virtue of their divinity, the things which were begun in the Plain of high heaven,' numerous gifts are made to them to win them over—and not only the usual offerings of cloths, fish, game, vegetables, rice, and *sake*, but also, in a naive form, 'as a thing to see plain in, a mirror; as things to play with, beads; as things to shoot off with, a bow and arrows; as a thing to strike and cut with, a sword; as a thing which gallops out, a horse.'

Lastly, after having thus loaded them with numerous toys and abundant dainties, which they beg them to accept 'with clear hearts, as peaceful offerings and sufficient offerings,' they earnestly ask these 'sovereign gods' to be good enough, 'without deigning to be turbulent, deigning to be fierce, and deigning to hurt, to remove out to the wide and clean places of the mountain-streams, and by virtue of their divinity to be tranquil.'

Passing in silence a less interesting ritual (the 26th), we come at length to the last document of the collection, the 27th ritual, which is called

*Idzumo no kuni no miyakko no kamu yogoto*, 'The Divine Words of Good Fortune of the Chiefs of the Country of Idzumo.' These local chiefs, after having lost their civil sway, had preserved their religious power. It is they who to this day in this old province hand down the primitive fire-kindler which their legendary ancestor, the god Ame-no-hohi, had received from the sun-goddess herself, and which each chief priest of Idzumo bequeaths to his successor by the ceremony called *Hi-tengi*, 'perpetuation of fire.' In this ritual the *miyakko* first announces that he will recite the formula, after many ritual preparations, to bring happiness to the reign of the 'visible god,' i.e. the sovereign. He then relates how Ame-no-hohi and, later, other celestial ambassadors were sent to earth to prepare for the descent of the son of the gods; how Ohonamochi, the divine king of Idzumo, who achieved the 'making of the country' with the help of a stranger magician, and who was the first to found a government in this important region of the archipelago, was persuaded by the celestial envoys to abandon his temporal rule to the son of the gods; how he then divided his souls, by a curious application of the Japanese idea which allows the possible separation of the multiple souls of man, attaching his 'gentle spirit' (*nigi-tama*) to a fetish-mirror which he caused to be placed in a temple of Yamato, while his 'rough spirit' (*ara-tama*) went to rest in the great temple of Idzumo; and how at length Ame-no-hohi received from above the command to bless the sovereign henceforth, that his life might be long, healthy, and happy (cf. *Kojiki*, 54, 58, 113-124). It is while carrying out this command that the descendant of Ame-no-hohi intervenes, as he himself declares. He brings to the emperor 'divine treasures,' whose magical rôle—fortunately for us—he clearly defines. There are, first of all, sixty jewels, white, red, and green.

'These white jewels are the great august white hairs (to which your Majesty will reach); the red jewels are the august, healthful, ruddy countenance; and the green-jewels are the harmonious fitness with which your Majesty will establish far and wide, as with a broad sword-blade, his lasting great august reign over the Great-eight-island-country which he governs.'

We have here, therefore, a typical case of the action of like upon like, which is one of the essential doctrines of primitive man, and which, in the present case, attaches to the different jewels a power corresponding to their colour. The formula continues by other applications of this principle of imitative magic:

'As this white horse plants firmly his fore-hoofs and his hind-hoofs, so will the pillars of the Great Palace be set firmly on the upper rocks and frozen firmly on the lower rocks; the pricking up of his ears is a sign that your Majesty will, with ears ever more erect, rule the Under-Heaven,' etc.

It is possible that at some time these rites may have become symbols; but it is impossible not to recognize in them, especially at the beginning, practices inspired by that primitive logic which has always and everywhere constructed magic on the same universal principles.

Ancient Shinto, therefore, as it appears to us in its most authentic liturgies, is a religion in which the magical element still prevails over the religious sentiment. The rituals are essentially magical formulae, addressed to magician gods (as is demonstrated by all their mythical exploits) by magician-priests (the *nakatomi*, the *imibe*, and the *urabe*), and encircled in magical rites. Magic is, therefore, at the base of the national cult of the Japanese, and it appears there with all the characteristics familiar to the student of comparative religion.

To finish with a vivid illustration, which, after the necessarily short descriptions given above, will show this magic in application in a typical and exact case, we shall choose as an example sorcery,

as it was practised in the most ancient times. The following is the curious account of the subject given in the *Kojiki* (326 f.):

'The Deity of Idzushi [the country of the 'sacred stones'] had a daughter, whose name was the Deity Maiden-of-Idzushi. So eighty Deities wished to obtain this Maiden-of-Idzushi in marriage, but none of them could do so. Hereupon there were two Deities, brothers, of whom the elder was called the Youth-of-the-Glow-on-the-Autumn-Mountains, and the younger was named the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains. So the elder brother said to the younger brother: "Though I beg for the Maiden-of-Idzushi, I cannot obtain her in marriage. Wilt thou be able to obtain her?" He answered, saying: "I will easily obtain her." Then the elder brother said: "If thou shalt obtain this maiden, I will take off my upper and lower garments, and distil liquor in a jar of my own height, and prepare all the things of the mountains and of the rivers, in payment of the wager." Then the younger brother told his mother everything that the elder brother had said. Forthwith the mother, having taken wistaria-fibre, wove and sewed in the space of a single night an upper garment and trousers, and also socks and boots, and likewise made a bow and arrows, and clothed him in this upper garment, trousers, etc., made him take the bow and arrows, and sent him to the maiden's house, where both his apparel and the bow and arrows all turned into wistaria-blossoms. Thereupon the Youth-of-the-Haze-on-the-Spring-Mountains hung up the bow and arrows in the maiden's privy. Then, when the Maiden-of-Idzushi, thinking the blossoms strange, brought them, he followed behind the maiden into the house, and forthwith wedded her. So she gave birth to one child. Then he spoke to his elder brother, saying: "I have obtained the Maiden-of-Idzushi." Thereupon the elder brother, vexed that the younger brother should have wedded her, did not pay the things he had wagered. Then when the younger brother complained to his mother, his august parent replied, saying: "During my august life the Deities indeed are to be well imitated; it must be because he imitates mortal men that he does not pay those things." Forthwith, in her anger with her elder child, she took a one-jointed bamboo from an island in the River Idzushi, and made a coarse basket with eight holes, and took stones from the river, and mixing them with brine [*shio*, in the sense of 'hard salt'], wrapped them in the leaves of the bamboo and caused this curse (*tokohi*) to be spoken [by her younger son]: "Like unto the becoming green of these bamboo-leaves, do thou become green and wither! Again, like unto the flowing and ebbing of this brine [again the word *shio*, but here with the meaning of 'sea-water'], do thou flow and ebb! Again, like unto the sinking of these stones, do thou sink and be prostrate!" Having caused this curse to be spoken, she placed the basket over the smoke [apparently on the hearth of the elder son]. Therefore the elder brother dried up, withered, sickened, and lay prostrate for the space of eight years. So on the elder brother entreating his august parent with lamentations and tears, she forthwith caused the curse to be reversed. Thereupon his body was pacified. This is the origin of the term "a divine wager-payment."

In this text we have a case of original sorcery, founded on sympathetic magic (a conception so well expressed by the Japanese word for 'magic,' *majinashi*, which conveys the idea of 'to mix'), but before the time when the progress of the arts and foreign influences could have given the idea of exercising sorceries on the effigy of an enemy. (For this later development see, e.g., the popular ballad of Shuntoku Maru, in *TASJ*, vol. xxii. pt. iii. [1894] pp. 294-308.) We are, therefore, in the presence of a thoroughly Japanese rite, whose ancient character is shown by its very obscurity, and which cannot be understood unless it is replaced in the midst of the primitive beliefs from which it came. First of all, the mother provides herself with the mysterious bamboo on which the life of her elder son is to depend. Purposely she does not gather it in any chance place; she takes it from an island—which already connects that object with the aquatic element. With this bamboo she weaves a basket, in which she takes care to leave eight holes, which will be the eight openings by which eight years of misfortune are to enter for the victim. In this basket she places river-pebbles, which, even more than the bamboo, come from the water. But it is from fresh water that they have come; and the nature of the rite demands that they should assume a maritime character. They are, therefore, put among brine; by this union the assimilation is made, and the sorcery can be accomplished. The only thing that remains to be done is to pronounce the formula whose powerful words will act on all these things.

The victim will wither like the leaves of bamboo, in the same way as, in another legend (*Kojiki*, 238), the magical imprecation (*ukebi*) of a chief had made a great oak-tree suddenly decay; or, better still, in the same way as, by the effect of a general malediction, man, formerly immortal, was condemned to die as the flowers of the cherry-tree fade (*Kojiki*, 140-142). Then, as the high water falls back, the guilty one will be abased. Lastly, he will be seen foundering as a stone sinks when disappearing under the waves. This curse pronounced, the basket of perdition is placed in the smoke of the hearth; the green leaves become black; the threat is executed. Yet in the end the mother's heart hears the repentance of her son. She reverses the curse, i.e., the terrible magical formula is this time pronounced backwards (cf. *Kojiki*, 238), and immediately the body of the young man is 'pacified'; he returns to health, to life.

In this sorcery the most curious point is that which is connected with the sea element. The fate of the young man is, in fact, connected with the ebbing of the tide. We have here an interesting illustration, among the insular Japanese, of the belief so wide-spread among primitive races, according to which a mysterious harmony exists between the life of man and the flowing and ebbing of the sea. In this belief, it is when the sea is flowing in that one is born, becomes strong, prospers; it is when it is ebbing that one loses his energy, falls ill, and dies. The Japanese sorcerers, the depositary of primitive traditions, is well aware of this secret agreement. She knows that, even far from the seashore, an artificial connexion can be formed between these two manifestations of a single force. Consequently she brings into connexion with the salt element these river-pebbles, into which the consecrated words will bring the very existence of her son; and the cursed one is immediately delivered up to the enchantment of the waters; he becomes like a pebble on the beach, the tide carries him away, drags him towards the brightnesses of life, then lets him fall back and roll in darkness and death. This story of witchcraft has, therefore, given us at one and the same time a typical case of Japanese magic and a new proof of the strange unity observable even in the most curious beliefs of humanity in general.

LITERATURE.—This has been cited in the article.

M. REYON.

MAGIC (Jewish). — The attitude assumed by Judaism towards everything not sanctioned by its own monotheistic teaching has also affected the practice which may be called 'magic,' and it thus becomes necessary, first of all, to obtain as clear a definition as documents of the OT and Jewish tradition allow as to what is to be understood by the term.

It must at once be pointed out that divination and charms (see DIVINATION [Jewish] and CHARMS AND AMULETS [Jewish]) are not part of Jewish magic, which, properly speaking, corresponds most closely to 'witchcraft.' The difference between witchcraft and other forms of magic is that the magician has nothing whatsoever to do with forecasting the future or with preventing any occurrence that is sure to happen in the ordinary course of nature. He has nothing to do primarily with spells or incantations, nor is the writing of any formula an indispensable condition for magic. Magic can only be 'performed'; no magic is effective unless it is the result of some 'operation'; the magician must 'act' in one way or another in order to accomplish his purpose; and herein lies the profound difference between magic and any other form of superstition—preventing and altering the regular operations of nature. The magician is not helping things to fruition; on the contrary, he

seeks to subvert the regular course of events. He is expected, if possible, to obscure the sun and moon, to bring the dead to life, to change human beings into animal shapes or *vice versa*; he is to produce fruit in winter, and, in fact, to do everything that is contrary to the regular laws of nature. The magician will kill, he will create strife—his activity will always be an evil one. He is not expected to do good; he will be the agent for vengeance, hatred, and everything that makes for strife, death, and destruction. But he cannot carry out his intention without an 'operation'; he must 'do' something in order to bring about the desired result. Unlike the diviner, who is guided by certain signs and omens, which he is able to understand and combine, so that he can read the future in the events of the present, and unlike the charmer, who can only undo the magician's evil work by certain spells, songs, formulae, and written amulets, the magician must perform a whole set of ceremonies quite independent of signs, omens, and spells. It is a new definition that is here offered, which, by circumscribing much more narrowly the field of superstition, is an endeavour to give to magic its real meaning. The magician's work, again, is not expected to be of a permanent character; it is temporary, and it can be undone by other means, or by other magicians who know the secret of the action and the means by which it has been achieved. In order, then, to disturb the laws of nature, to transform existing things, to shape and mould new creatures, the magician requires the help of superhuman powers. This is the very root and basis of magical art; the magician must be able to command the services of spiritual powers—demons, gods, or ghosts—malignant in their disposition and willing to do mischief.

Jewish magic presupposes the existence of such spirits, and occupies the borderland between orthodoxy and heresy, between Judaism and paganism. It is an art that lives in the twilight between truth and falsehood; and the line of demarcation shifts according to the change of theological views in the course of development and transition. It depends also upon the nature of those spirits and upon the theological attitude towards them—whether they are considered as forces opposed to God or as mere negative forces that are also creatures of God and yet unwilling, by their own innate wickedness, to do good. The conception of a rebellious angel who has been cast down from the heavenly heights because of his arrogance and insubordination does not enter into the sphere of Jewish magic, nor, with rare exceptions, have the gods of other nations become evil spirits subservient to the wish of the magician and willing to do his behest.

The Hebrew term for 'magic' is *keshef*, which, like all technical expressions connected with superstition, is of obscure origin; though many attempts have been made to elucidate its primitive meaning, not one has yet proved satisfactory. The primitive meaning of *keshef*, in the view of the present writer, is apparently 'hidden,' 'obscure,' 'a thing done in a secret manner,' which is the very essence of magic. The performance is a secret one, and even those who are allowed to witness it are slow to understand its meaning. The word *keshef*, with its various derivatives, occurs twelve times in the Bible. It is to be noted that all the references in the Pentateuch are to Egypt, while of the references in the Prophetic writings some are to Assyria as well as to Palestine itself. In 2 Ch 33<sup>6</sup> Manasseh is described as having practised witchcraft as well as other forbidden things (cf. also Mal 3<sup>9</sup>); the wizards of Egypt are mentioned in Ex 7<sup>11</sup> 22<sup>18</sup>; in Babylon there is only one allusion to them, in Dn 2<sup>2</sup>.

The LXX translates *keshef* by φάρμακον, which does not mean 'poison,' but, as in later Greek, a 'spell' cast by a magician. *Keshef* has remained the technical term in Hebrew literature. Witchcraft is called *kishshuf* in the Mishna and Talmud, and no words have been more widely used, and yet with a very definite meaning attached to them, than *kishshuf* and *m'khashshuf*, nor is there any doubt that the real meaning of this 'magic' is exactly witchcraft. It is clearly stated (*Sanh.* vii. 4, 11) that only he is to be called a magician who produces a real act, but not the man who produces an optical illusion, a kind of jugglery.

The fact that witchcraft is mentioned in connexion with Egypt (exclusively, in the Pentateuch, and occasionally, in other passages in the Bible) shows the probable source of the magical art known and practised in Bible times. The Egyptian *m'khashshufim* in Ex 7<sup>11</sup> 22<sup>18</sup> perform precisely the acts defined above as the work of the magicians; they endeavour to change the order of nature. No details are given regarding the operation of the magician in the Bible; but from Is 47<sup>13-14</sup>, Mic 5<sup>12</sup>, Mal 3<sup>5</sup>, Nah 3<sup>4</sup>, Jer 27<sup>9</sup>, and 2 K 9<sup>22</sup> it is clear that, in the eyes of the prophets, the work of sorcery was tantamount to idolatry and to lewdness, possibly through the performance of some action by the magician. That some of the witches performed such acts in a state of absolute nakedness is an attested fact throughout the history of magic, and it is possible that the prophets had this in view when in speaking of witches they placed them on the same plane as harlots. It is noteworthy that the witch, and not the wizard, is mentioned in Ex 22<sup>18</sup>, Dt 18<sup>10</sup>. The sin of the *m'khashshufim* must have been so heinous that the law punished it with death. Witchcraft must, therefore, have been connected with idolatry (Mic 5<sup>11-12</sup>); it was characterized as an 'abomination' (Dt 18<sup>10</sup>), and was also described as *snanum*, 'lewdness' (Nah 3<sup>4</sup>, 2 K 9<sup>22</sup>).

The scanty references in the OT, which show that the practice could not have been wide-spread in Bible times, become clear in the light of the tradition of Rabbinical literature. We learn to know through what powers the magicians were able to carry on their operations; the spirits become, as it were, more materialized.

The existence of demons is not denied; on the contrary, they are universally acknowledged, possibly through the influence of Babylon, and the Jewish belief of the period endeavours to account for them in a world created by God (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Hebrew] and DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Jewish]).

According to the *Pirkê Abôth*, v. 9 (cf. C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, Cambridge, 1897, *ad loc.*) and *Gen. Rab.* 7, *maztchim* were created by God Himself at the close of the sixth day; but, as the Sabbath supervened before their creation had been completed, they remained half human, half spirit. They are not fallen angels, nor are they ancient heathen gods, but intermediate between angel and man, and mostly of an evil inclination.

How they are to be used—i.e. the art of witchcraft—has been taught to man by two angels who have forfeited all rights to the bliss of heaven. According to a legend found in the *Book of Enoch*, the *Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (tr. M. Gaster, London, 1899), and other Jewish Haggadic collections, the two angels Uzza and Azazel, who showed their discontent at the creation of Adam, and afterwards were sent by God, at their own request, to see whether they could withstand temptation, both fell in love with a woman and were punished by God. One of them hangs head downwards from heaven, and the other is chained behind the dark mountains; it was the latter who taught women the arts of witchcraft and cosmetics (*Jerahmeel*, ch.

25, and notes, p. lxxiii).<sup>1</sup> The Kenites, the descendants of Cain, were the pupils of these angels, and, according to the *Book of Jubilees*, corrupted the descendants of Seth and brought about the Flood. According to another tradition, the *masakim* and *shedim* were the children of Adam and Lilith, the *shedhah* who leads the procession of *shedim*, and who, during the one hundred years that Adam was separated from Eve, consorted with him (*Zohar*, I. 176; cf. *ERE* iv. 614). Lilith plays a great rôle in magical literature; she later becomes the demon who kills infants at birth and, together with her companions, is constantly mentioned in Aramaic inscriptions on magical bowls from Assyria and Babylon (see below). The demons are both male and female, and they also endeavour to consort with human beings—a conception from which arises the belief in *incubi* and *succubae*—and it is through these demons that the magician is believed to be able to carry on his work.

In apocryphal and legendary literature we get a clearer glimpse of the beliefs prevalent among the Jews concerning magic and magical operations. Faith in demons and demoniacal powers seems to have been established by that time; at any rate, these beliefs are far more in evidence, and do not seem to be seriously contested. The character of these spiritual potencies is somewhat indefinite, except in the *Book of Enoch*, where, as we have seen, angels who had fallen in love with human women use such powers as instruments for deception and sorcery. In the book of Tobit another side of this belief is shown in which we may begin to see a differentiation between a white magic, or a magic tolerated by Judaism, and that kind of magic which ranked as pure paganism, and which probably would fall under the category of the witchcraft for which the death penalty was prescribed by law. Here we find the angel Raphael himself helping, by means of fumigation, to counteract the work of a demon who, falling in love with Sarah, had become an *incubus*, and would, therefore, kill any one who intended to approach her. The spirit thus exorcized was Asmodeus, who is recognized in the later demoniacal hierarchy as the king of the evil powers.<sup>2</sup> The position of Beliar, or Belial (the name given also in Samaritan tradition to the evil spirit who deceived Eve), is, in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and other apocryphal writings, not so clearly defined, but in any case he is an evil spirit approximating to the character of Satan in the book of Job (cf. BELIAL, BELIAR).

To obtain the assistance and help of these powers, certain means had to be devised: gifts or sacrifices were made in order to win them over and gain control over them. Maimonides,<sup>3</sup> in interpreting Dt 32<sup>17</sup>, 'they sacrificed to *shedim*,' says that the gift most acceptable to the evil spirits was blood, and that their willing help was obtained by giving them the blood of the sacrifice as food; the magician must partake of the blood, thus sharing the food of the evil spirits, so as to become their associate. To this sacrifice, which was not limited to the shedding and partaking of blood, other ceremonies had to be added, all best understood as sacrifices; just as the fumigation or burning of incense in the temple is an offering to God, so fumigation and the burning of incense must be understood primarily as gifts very acceptable to the spirits, who are not sufficiently materialized to enjoy material food (cf. the Biblical parallelism of

magic with idolatry, noted above). In addition there was the lighting of candles and the use of a knife with a black handle which is mentioned by Rashi to *Sanh.* 101a, and which can be understood only as a symbolical sacrificial knife. Philtres must be served in glass bowls (*Babha m'tsa*, 2a). Fasting and other ceremonies are all intended to propitiate the evil spirit, and this is what made magic and magical operations objectionable to Jews and an 'abomination' to Judaism. Yet Rabbis made allowance for weaknesses of human nature and, except on rare occasions, avoided rigorous measures against witchcraft. But when necessary they did not shrink from them. During the first centuries of the Christian era the whole of what might be termed the civilized world—Egypt, Babylon, Greece, and Rome—stood under the absolute sway of belief in evil spirits. It was partly Babylonian tradition that ascribed every form of evil and harm to the action of the *shedim* and *masakim* and produced a large literature of invocations and magical formulae for harm and for protection, and partly the Egyptian tradition of magical operations and ceremonies of a mystical and magical character. During Talmudic times it seems to have been believed that some *shedim* were harmless, and, though they were looked upon as evilly inclined and malignant, a friendly intercourse with them does not appear to have been considered contrary to Jewish law. Thus a Rabbi once assisted in a dispute between two *shedim*, in which one who had taken unlawful possession of a place belonging to the other was vanquished and a few drops of blood were found floating on the wall where they dwelt (*Levit. Rab.* 24); but, on the other hand, Abaya saw a seven-headed monster coming out of a well and killed it.<sup>4</sup> The attitude of the Rabbis was justifiable so long as it did not lead to real idolatry.

The belief in the power of the Ineffable Name (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Jewish], NAMES [Jewish]) was as old as any belief in witchcraft. As soon as the existence of evil spirits could not be denied, they also were given mysterious names, and it was held that, the moment the magician possessed the secret of their names, he could win their assistance, provided it was not contrary to the will of God. Legend says (*Pal. Targ.* to Gn 25<sup>12</sup>) that among the first who obtained mastery over these demons and the knowledge how to deal with them for their own purposes were the children of Abraham by his wife Keturah, to whom he had imparted the knowledge of the mystical names of the demons (the names of the unclean). It was through the names of these evil spirits that 'the prophet of the heathen,' as Balaam is called, was able to perform his witchcraft and was expected to harm the Israelites. He was considered to be the greatest magician of old, and, according to *Pal. Targ.* to Nu 25<sup>1</sup>, he taught the daughters of Moab to practise sorcery and witchcraft and thus enticed the young men to idolatry and immorality, which brought the plague upon Israel. It is also said that Balaam tried to escape by flying in the air, but Phinehas, through the Holy Name, was able to fly higher and smite him. The magicians in Egypt who unsuccessfully withstood Moses were Jannes and Jambres (so already in *Pal. Targ.* to Ex 1), well known in apocryphal literature as the great magicians at the court of Pharaoh (cf. also 2 Ti 3<sup>8</sup>). According to the Samaritan *Apocrypha of Moses*, the sorcerer who predicted the birth of Moses was a certain Palti. The Samaritans trace the origin of sorcery and witchcraft to the 'Book of Signs' given to Adam before he left Paradise; but in Jewish and Christian

<sup>1</sup> For an Egyptian parallel to this legend ascribing the origin of magical art to the teaching of an angel who had fallen in love with a woman see M. Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, Paris, 1887-88, I. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Later the host of *shedim* had other rulers and princes besides Asmodeus (cf. Jerus. *Sh'k.* v. 49b, *Gen. Rab.* 20, *Levit. Rab.* 5, and later Midrashic compilations).

<sup>3</sup> *Guide*, III. 50.

<sup>4</sup> This is one of the earliest mentions of a seven-headed dragon, which plays such an important rôle in fairy-tales.

apocryphal literature it is the 'Book of Adam,' or the 'Book of Rāṣṭāl,' a title afterwards given to a handbook of practical *kabbalā* full of such mystical names of angels, rulers, princes, stars, planets, and sublunar worlds. Still less could the Rabbis object to belief in power over these demons when they remembered that even the Temple in Jerusalem was said to have been built by Solomon with the assistance of the *shēdīm*—a legend which rests on a peculiar interpretation of the word *shiddāh*, occurring in Ec 2<sup>d</sup>. So firm was the later belief in Solomon's power over the *shēdīm*—and whatever was allowed to Solomon could not be refused to any other Jew—that Josephus has preserved to us (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 5) the tradition of Eleazar, who came before the Roman emperor Vespasian, and was able to drive away an evil spirit by using the ring of Solomon and certain herbs.

In the Solomonic cycle Asmodeus is mentioned as their king, and Lilith, Mahalat, and Agaron are also described later as leaders of evil spirits, while even a demon Meridianus has been evolved out of Ps 91<sup>6</sup>. Once the grouping of spirits was conceded, numbers came from various quarters to swell the host. Among these we find reference, in the Talmud, to the princes or rulers over oil and eggs,<sup>1</sup> rulers over the thumb or, rather, thumb-nail, and over crystal—all shining objects used, no doubt, for crystal-gazing (*q.v.*). It was a time of syncretism, in which everything that helped either to do or to avert evil was eagerly sought by the credulous. The work of the magician was wrapped in obscurity; his books were kept secret, and his operations were accessible only to the adept, whence much of the practical operation is almost lost to us. What has survived is, with few exceptions, the accompanying formulae by which these various spirits and invisible powers were invoked or subdued either for evil, as in most cases, or for good. In the Greek magical papyri some fragments of the formulae are extant, but very little of the operations. Much more seems to have been preserved in the Hebrew *Sword of Moses* (ed. and tr. Gaster, *JRAS*, 1896, pp. 149-198), of extreme antiquity, and in some MSS of practical *kabbalā*, or practical occultism, mostly in the possession of the present writer (one of the prescriptions in these is given below). A large number of bowls, many of them dating from the first centuries of the Christian era, have been found in Babylonia with Hebrew and Syriac inscriptions, these vessels being used by the ancient magicians for the purpose of making the incantation or conjuration written on them effective. The inscriptions in question contain whole lists of demons and spirits who are in the service of the magician or whose power he is expected to check. A large number of them have been published by J. A. Montgomery (*Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1913), and one (no. 32) may here be reproduced as showing the state of mind and the beliefs of the people. The translation is independent and differs somewhat from that given by Montgomery.

'This bowl is prepared for the sealing of the house and the wife and the children of Dinōl, son of Ispandarmād, that the Terrorer (fright) and evil Dreams may depart from him. The bowl I lifted up and I have watered (drained) it, an operation like that which was established by Rab Joshua bar Perahyah, who wrote against them—a ban against all Demons and Devils and Satans and Liliths and curses which are in the house of Dinōl, son of Ispandarmād. Again: he wrote against them a ban which is for all time, in the name of Aṭmōd, Aṭātōt Aṭōt, within T, Aṭōt Aṭōt, the name a scroll within a scroll. Through which are subjected heaven and earth and the mountains; and through which the heights are raised (lifted) up; and through which are fettered the magician, Demons and Devils and Satans and Liliths and curses; and through which he passed over from this

<sup>1</sup> The rulers of the egg must mean those who obtained an insight into the work of the spirits or mastery over them through looking intently into the yolk of an opened egg (*Sanh.* 67b).

world and climbed above you to the height (of heaven) and learned all counter-charms for hurt and for healing to bring you forth from the house of Dinōl, son of Ispandarmād, and from everything that belongs to him. I have dismissed you by the ban, and it is bound and sealed and countersealed, even as ancient lines (of writing) which do not fail and men of old who were not surrounded (tied). . . . Again: bound and sealed and countersealed is this ban in the name of YHWHYHWHYH, YHWH, YHWH, A. (Amen), Amen, Amen, Selah.

Sealed and protected are the house and dwelling of Dinōl, son of Ispandarmād, from the Terrorer (fright) and evil Dreams and the Curse. And sealed and protected be [his wife and son] from the Terrorer and evil Dreams and Curses and Vows and . . . Hallelu. Amen.'

This inscription has been selected because it contains the name of the famous Joshua (Jesus) b. Perahyah who was so important a figure in the time of John Hyrcanus at the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. He was the teacher and friend of R. Simeon b. Sheṭah, whose dealings with the witches of Ashkelon are mentioned below. In the apocryphal stories about Jesus a noteworthy part is assigned to this Joshua b. Perahyah, who had fled to Egypt, where he was believed to have learned the art both of working and of combating magic.

The *Jerus. Talm.* (*Sanh.* vii. 19, fol. 25d) tells a curious legend concerning this same R. Joshua, who is made the contemporary of R. Eleazar and R. Gamaliel. These three came to a place where they found a young man whose manhood had been taken away by a witch. R. Joshua sowed flax seeds on the table, and they sprouted in an instant and grew up. Out of the midst a woman with dishevelled hair suddenly appeared—the witch. R. Joshua seized her and ordered her to loosen the spell, but she refused, whereupon he threatened to divulge her name. She then answered that she could not undo the spell, because the things had been thrown into the sea. R. Joshua then ordered the angel of the sea to throw them up, and thus the young man was restored to health, and later became the father of R. Judah b. Bethera.

In the light of the Babylonian bowls, it is not improbable that this is a story of Joshua b. Perahyah, but, as nothing was known of his magical powers, it was transferred later to another Rabbi also named Joshua.

The Rabbis had no doubt as to the origin of witchcraft: it came from Egypt. According to *Kiddushin*, 49b, ten measures of witchcraft have come down into the world, nine of which have gone to Egypt, while one has spread throughout the rest of the world. The Talmud names one or two witches who are said to have practised in Jerusalem, among them being Yōḥnā, the daughter of R'ḥīl (*Sotā*, 22a), famous as a witch affecting childbirth.

One day, whilst she was assisting a woman in travail, a neighbour came into her house. Hearing a noise in a vessel like that of a child in the womb, she lifted the cover; the noise ceased, and the woman was easily delivered. Hence it was recognized that Yōḥnā was a witch.<sup>1</sup>

Evidence of the Egyptian origin of witchcraft and of its purely temporary character—as is shown by the fact that, if put to the proper test, it vanishes—is seen in the Talmudic story of Z'ārī.

He bought an ass in Alexandria, but, when he attempted to cross the river on it, it turned into a plank the instant it touched the stream, for no witchcraft can withstand running water. All who saw him laughed at his discomfiture, but he recovered the money which he had paid for the ass. Another Rabbi, Jannai, being offered a drink of water, poured some of the liquid on the ground, whereupon the rest turned into scorpions. He then compelled the witch to drink and she was transformed into an ass, on which he rode into the market. There another witch, recognizing her, broke the spell, and the Rabbi was then seen to have the witch for his steed (*Sanh.* 67b).

As soon as magical operations came to be regarded as idolatry, sterner measures were taken, one of the foremost opponents of magic being R. Simeon b. Sheṭah (*Sanh.* 44b, and Rashi, *ad loc.*), who lived in the time of King Jannæus and Queen Alexandra (1st cent. B.C.). He went to Ashkelon, where, with the assistance of eighty pupils, he caught eighty witches actually practising their magic arts, and he hanged them all in one day.

<sup>1</sup> This idea of a witch who holds the soul, or the eye, or the heart in close imprisonment in certain vessels which, when broken (the contents being restored to the owner), restore life, health, and sight occurs frequently in fairy-tales and is derived from Egyptian tradition.



The details are of much interest, for they show a complete continuity of practice from that day onward. The women procured food and drink in a miraculous manner, and in the midst of their feasting did not disdain to invite the Rabbi's pupils to share in their banquet. Each of the young men then took one of the witches in his arms and lifted her from the ground, whereby she lost her magical power, the reason given for this procedure being that no harm could befall a witch as long as she touched the earth.

It was, however, found necessary to bring some order into the chaos of magic, for the Rabbis could not transgress a clear prescription of the Bible, and a sin which was punished with death could not be passed over lightly. On the other hand, what was a deadly sin for the followers of one creed might be tolerated by those following another; a heathen might be allowed to be a magician and not fall under the ban of the Law, while a Jew was strictly forbidden to follow such practices, and, *vice versa*, a Jew might be considered a magician by the followers of another creed. To a Jew all heathen practices and even religious ceremonies might be magic, and the Rabbis, therefore, divided magic into three categories. First, the death penalty by stoning (Lv 24<sup>17</sup>) was inflicted only on those who practised magic and performed magical operations. The second class consisted of those who merely acted as jugglers or produced optical illusions, and who were warned not to indulge in such practices, but were not punished. A third type of magic was that by which operations and identical results obtained by the Holy Name were not only tolerated, but actually sanctioned. A difference was thus made between the use of the names of the unclean spirits (magic) and the names of the clean ones (*kabbalā*). By the former are meant demons and spirits, by the latter angelic powers. At the same time mastery over demoniacal beings might be obtained through the mediation of heavenly powers.

Thus, when R. Simeon b. Yohai and other sages went to Rome, they caused a demon, ben T'malion, to enter the emperor's daughter; and, when they arrived at the city, they were able to cure her by expelling the spirit (briefly told in *M'14A*, fol. 17, a-b, enlarged form in A. Jellinek, *Bat ha-Midrasch*, Vienna, 1858-78, vi. 128-130; also Rashi, *ad loc.*; Gaster, *Exempla of the Rabbis*, London, 1896, no. 19; M. Seligsohn, in *JR* xl. 260 f.).

Thus was established a compromise which was facilitated by the manifold meanings attached to the word *rūah*, 'spirit,' used even in the Bible for both a good and an evil spirit coming forth from the Lord, possessing man and departing from him. So strong was the belief in the harm which such evil spirits could produce that, as far back as the time of the Mishna, a light might be extinguished on the Sabbath if an evil spirit was feared (*Mishn. Shab.* ii. 5); and in the Bible *rūah* is already occasionally applied to evil spirits, demons, and devils (Jg 9<sup>2</sup>, 1 S 16<sup>14-15</sup>, 18<sup>10</sup>, 1 K 22<sup>22</sup>, Zec 13<sup>3</sup>).

Despite the stern attitude taken by the Rabbis, magic flourished among the Jews, for the adepts of this science often deluded themselves as to the true character of their art. Not only did they continue their forbidden practices and their operations for evoking spirits and subduing demons, but in their formulae they introduced names of spirits and demons gathered from every form of warring creed and ancient tradition, and gods and spirits long dead and forgotten were retained in magical practices and invocations. Gnostic, Babylonian, and Egyptian names, and even such appellations as Soter, Alpha, Omega, and Evangelion are found side by side with Š'bhāōth and Shaddai. Actual specimens of these conjurations are very rare, for the magician would never disclose his mode of operation, but the following example (taken from the present writer's Cod. no. 443, fol. 136) is characteristic of the peculiar mixture of names and powers used by the magician.

'And they are called "the princes of bdellium." Take bdellium and write upon it with olive oil: 'AUMOL (or) AUMELMA; and take a boy seven years old and anoint his hand from the top of the thumb to the end of the finger; and put the bdellium into his hand in the anointed place and seize his hand; and you shall sit upon a three-legged stool and put the boy between your loins so that his ear shall be against your mouth and you shall turn your face towards the sun and say in his ear: "Aungli, I adjure thee in the name of the Lord God, God of Truth, God, Keeper of the Hosts, ALPHA, AIDU, that thou shalt send from thee three angels." Then the boy will see (a figure) like (that of) a man; and say (the charm) twice more, and he will see two (figures); and the boy shall say unto them: "Your coming be in peace!" And then tell the boy to ask of them that which you wish. And if they will not answer him, the boy shall adjure them, and say: "KASPAR, KHEI, 'EMAR (or) BLETHEMAR, the master and I adjure (you) with a second adjuration that you tell me that thing or who has committed that theft." And know that he who wishes to do this must do it on a clear, cloudless day, and in winter time at mid-day.'

The most remarkable product of this type of syncretism is the *Sēfer Maftsaḥ Šh'ōmōh* ('Key of Solomon'), a complete facsimile of which has been edited by H. Gollancz (Oxford, 1914).

No legal command could eradicate so deep-seated a belief as that in magic and magician, and, though it is true that it was forbidden, almost on pain of death, to become a pupil of a magician (*amqiaḥi*) (*Shab.* 75b), yet his help might be invoked to break a spell in the case of a man who had become seriously ill through witchcraft. This was done almost to modern times (*Tur, Yoreh de'ah*, § 179, and the commentary of R. Joseph Karo [see QARO, JOSEPH], *ad loc.*).

Belief in magic received an additional impetus through the mysterious teachings of the *Zōhār*, which, from the 14th cent., held almost unbroken sway over the mind of the majority of the Jews. In it the Talmudic legends concerning the existence and activity of the *shedim* are repeated and amplified, and a hierarchy of demons was established corresponding to the heavenly hierarchy. Halls of the nether world and their demon rulers are fully described in the *Zōhār* (Ex. 246b-268a) and exorcism of the *shedim* or any evil spirit was recognized as within the power of every man fully versed in mystical lore and in the mystical names of God. Many a tale is told of such expulsion of demons by holy and pious men, such as Heliodorus in Catania in the 8th cent. (L. Zunz, *Zur Gesch. und Lit.*, Berlin, 1845, p. 486); and others are mentioned by Manasseh in his *Nishmat Hayim* (Amsterdam, 1652), bk. iii., which is full of information concerning belief in demons and the power of the pious to master them and use them for their own purpose. Even the scholarly and learned Rabbis of the 17th cent. clung to the belief, while in the legendary lore of the Middle Ages such men as Maimonides (*q.v.*), Ibn Ezra (*q.v.*), R. Judah the Pious, Rashi, and Nahmanides (*q.v.*) were all credited with magical powers, and many a legend is told of their operations. Rabbi Jehiel of Paris has even found a place in Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris* as a wonder-working Rabbi, and no less famous was R. Loeb of Prague (17th cent.), who was regarded as a great magician and was credited with having a clay famulus that was able to perform wonderful deeds, since it had under its tongue a plate on which a mysterious name had been engraved. The Ba'al Shēm (†1760), who founded the sect of the *Hasidim*, had many encounters with the *shedim*, as described in his biography (*Shibḥe Ba'al Shem Tob*, Berdichev, 1815 ff.), and a collection of miraculous deeds performed by him and after him by wonder-working Rabbis of the *Hasidim* as detailed in the *K'hal Hasidim* (Lemberg, 1864); nor should we forget the legendary contest, de-

<sup>1</sup> S. Dalchoz, *Bab. Oul Magic in the Talmud and in the Later Jewish Literature*, London, 1913.

<sup>2</sup> *Evangelion* (?).

<sup>3</sup> The three kings from the East, Kaspar, Melchior, and Baltasar—a curious invocation in the mouth of a Jewish magician. It is evident, from the corrupted form of the names, that the copyist did not understand what he was writing.

scribed in an anonymous chapbook, between a bishop magician and a red Jew, who had come from beyond the waters of the mysterious river Sambatyon, for upon the issue of the struggle depended the life of the Jewish communities in Germany. To this very day the Jews in Syria perform such magical operations as fumigation, libations, and offerings of oil, bread, and lighted candles, which are put in the four corners of an empty house to propitiate the *shédém* before the people venture to enter the dwelling and make the proper dedication. Gradually, however, the belief in the *shédém* is waning, and the literature of practical *kabbala* is slowly but steadily being discarded. Indeed, much of Jewish magic to-day is, in reality, little more than a concession to ignorance. When a Rabbi was asked why the aid of a magician may be invoked in case of serious illness, he replied, according to Joseph Karo (commentary on *Tôr, Yôrêh De'ah*, ch. 179), that, although there was no basis of fact for the procedure, such an appeal might soothe and comfort the patient, and therefore he saw no objection to it. This is practically the answer which is given in modern times when the people are asked why they continue to believe in the harm done by demons, and in magical operations intended to propitiate them and to obtain relief and safety. It is merely a temporary comfort to those who are loath to give up old beliefs which are now recognized as vain imaginations.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the books mentioned in the text see the Literature at art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Jewish), DIVINATION (Jewish), and BIRTH (Jewish). M. GASTER.

**MAGIC (Slavio).**—The Slavic countries are a peculiarly rich field for the study of folk-lore, as they were not Christianized until the 10th cent., remained isolated from Western influences, and have conserved their written traditions.

On the vast uplands of the northern steppes man's relations to nature were characteristic. The Greeks, in their narrow, diversified, hilly country, developed a corresponding mythology, varied and beautiful; the modern Western European, a city-dweller, turns to nature in a romantic manner, semi-religiously idolizing what is to him unwonted and fresh. But to the Slav peasant nature was business, his everyday surrounding, beside which nothing else existed. He was rather unimaginative and quite ignorant. Whilst the Norsemen and the Greeks created mythologies out of natural phenomena, the Slav, in the drear monotony of his plains, fell into neither the deep religious fatalism of the Scandinavians nor the bright imagery of the Greeks; he simply saw that the sun ripened and the sun scorched; that the earth was moist and fertile or parched and frozen; that he was environed by unknown powers to be obeyed or to be subdued; he addressed prayers and incantations to them in a prosaic, almost rationalist, attitude of mind, without adoration, with merely a recognition of inevitable dependence. His spells and invocations (the bastard descendants of heathen rites) were unsound science, but good rationalism. A. N. Rambaud<sup>1</sup> says that the primitive Slavs adored matter and never felt the incentive to personify, idealize, or philosophize it; perhaps it was a mere acceptance of necessity.

The Pomeranian Slavs, the only Slavs who had access to the sea, had a very elaborate ritual, and worshipped many-headed images in temples, not in groves, like the other Slavs. Their greatest oracles and pilgrimages were in the isle of Rügen; these pagan shrines were destroyed by Valdemar I. of Denmark in 1168.

The recollection of this sacred island has strongly

<sup>1</sup> *La Russie épique*, Paris, 1876, p. 215.

influenced Slav myth and magic. The word Rügen is derived from the same root as the English 'rough,' and is called in Early Russian Ruyán. Now the word Buyán comes from a synonymous root, and looks like a translation of the Teutonic name Rügen; and it is thus a safe and probable theory to identify the fabulous island of Buyán with the historical shrine of Rügen—all the more so as the mysterious stone Alátir is thought perhaps to mean amber, which was an article of Baltic commerce.

When Christianity had effaced the old Slavic nature-gods, the need for which they stood still remained—that of dealing with nature, coaxing and dominating her, and mastering her secrets. Fragments of the old ritual, degenerating into incomprehensible patter, continued to be used at the old sacred haunts, but these incantations were clandestine; though the beings invoked were believed in, they were considered illicit or hellish; heathendom had changed into magic.

Every village had its magician or witch-doctor. These practitioners certainly possessed great knowledge of healing, as herbalists and masseurs; but, where all nature consists of discontinuous miracles, such cures had to be accompanied with the ritual that was calculated to conciliate the powers and convince the patient.

The Russian sorcerer lived alone; he had learnt the magic formulae, and had been instructed by the woodsprites (*leši*), the goblin of the hearth (*domovdy*), the fairies of the fields and the water (*polevdy, vodyandy*). Such practitioners are known by many names—e.g., *smakhar, koldun, kudénik, vedún, vorozhy*, etc.; the women-witches are called *vedma*; and to them more extraordinary powers are attributed. These magicians hand down their wisdom to their youngest children—a custom signifying that this magical knowledge was derived from non-Aryan peoples, and taken over by the Aryan conquerors.

It is said that the *smakhar* has physical marks—a troubled eye, a grey complexion—that he mutters, has a hoarse voice, and so on. Unless he communicates once a year, earth will not receive his body, and then he wanders after death as a vampire, sucking others' blood. Witches are credited with the power of flying, and are supposed to have marvellous muscular strength and a spotted skin. They are said to forgather in the gusts and whirls of snow at cross-roads; a pious man should cross himself when he comes upon such whirling columns, for in them the witches dance. If a knife be thrust into such a column, it will drop to the ground blood-stained; and it then becomes an implement for sorcery—e.g., a man crossed in love may use its broad blade to wipe out the track of his maiden in the snow.

The wizard is believed to have terrible powers; among the Galician Rusins, e.g., if the *smakhar* inserts a knife under the threshold of his intended victim's dwelling, the victim is snatched away by a whirlwind, and detained until the knife is removed.

The magical formulae are very curious. They are framed for every occasion of need; and, to be efficacious, they must be spoken in one breath without any departure from the text—only thus can the powers of nature be quelled, and the wizard be the lord of creation. The following is the text of a charm against lead, copper, and iron bullets:

<sup>1</sup> In the lofty chamber, at the river mouth, beyond the river Vólga, a fair maiden stands, stands and decks herself, commends herself to valorous folk, glories in deeds of war. In her right hand she holds bullets of lead, in her left bullets of copper, on her feet bullets of iron. Do thou, fair maiden, ward off the guns of the Turks, the Tatars, the Germans, the Circassians, the Russians, the Mordvins, of all tribes and foes;

smite with thy invisible might the hostile weapons. If they shall shoot from their guns, may their bullets not hit, but strike the moist earth, the open field. May I be whole and uninjured in this war, and my steed whole and uninjured, and my dress stouter than armour. I close my decree with a lock, and I hurl the key into the Ocean-sea, on the burning stone Alátyr. And, as it is not to the sea to dry, as the stone may not be seen, the keys not be reached, so may I not be hit by bullets for all my life.'

A charm against fever runs as follows:

'On the Mountains of Athos there is an oak, and under the oak thirteen sages with the Sage Pafnúti. To them there go twelve maidens, fair, with simple tresses, and simple belts. And the Sage Pafnúti with the thirteen sages says: "Who are these who have come to us?"—And the twelve maidens say: "We are the daughters of King Herod, we journey across the earth to freeze up bones and torture the body." And the Sage Pafnúti spake to his sages: "Break off three rods, and we will beat them on for three dawns and three gloamings." The twelve maidens besought the thirteen sages with the Sage Pafnúti; but in vain. And the sages began beating them, saying: "Hail, ye twelve maidens! Be ye turned into water-sprites, and weakened, and live in the chilled water; nor enter the world, nor afflict bones, nor torture bodies." The maidens fled into the cold water as water-sprites,' etc.

These charms contain weird mixtures of legend: beyond the sea of Khvalynsk (probably the Baltic), on the isle of Buyán, on the mystic stone Alátyr, or on a sacred oak magical maidens sit; or there is a mighty sword, a man with a huge bow, a gigantic raven, or a castle with seven locked gates. In fact, the epic portion of the incantations is a medley of all the ancient myths, the one common feature being the locality of the island, and, occasionally, distinct recollections of the ritual practised at Rügen by the Pomeranian Slavs in the 12th century. These incantations also contain, as necessary parts, an invocation in which the 'servant of God,' the suppliant, states his request, and a conclusion, such as 'my word is strong,' 'a seal on my words,' to ratify, as it were, and assert the mastery over nature ensured by the spell.

Incantations must be pronounced in the traditional manner and at the right time and spot—e.g., on midsummer's day, facing east, on the threshold, etc., during the offices at church (to contrive murder, a candle should be held upside down during the hearing of Mass). The professional enchanter expresses his desires forcibly and effectually to the natural powers whom he has under his sway, by means of formulæ which are a farrago of ancient Finnish magic, Aryan folklore, and Christian apocalypse. The incantations contain words of action, such as 'I stand up,' 'I wash myself,' 'I shroud myself in the clouds,' 'I surround myself with the crowded stars'; and the expression creates an illusion of the reality of the action.

Among the incantations against toothache, one invokes the dawn-goddess to cover the aching teeth with her veil against the attacks of the fiend Limar; the epic part goes on:

'In the field there is a hare, in the sea there is a stone, in the depths there is Limar.'

Another invokes the horned moon to cure the affliction. A third invokes, literally in the same breath, the Christian saints Martha, Mary, and Pegalea, and the water-demon. A fourth runs as follows:

'I go neither on the road nor on the street, but on empty lanes by copees and canals. I meet a hare. Hare, where are your teeth? Give me yours, take mine. I go neither on a road nor a path, but in the dark forest, a grey wood. I meet a dusky wolf. Wolf, dusky wolf, where are your teeth? I will give you mine, give me yours. I go neither on earth nor on water, but on the open plain, the flowery mead. I meet an old woman. Old woman, where are your teeth? Take out your wolf-like teeth, take out my falling teeth.'

In an incantation to stay the flow of blood the *makhar* squeezes the wound and recites three times in a breath:

'In the Ocean-sea, on the Isle of Buyán a fair maiden was weaving silk; she did not leave off weaving silk; the blood ceased flowing.'

Again, in another formula, the Holy Virgin is depicted, like Svantovit, one of the principal gods worshipped at Rügen by the Pomeranian Slavs, or St. George, as riding across the golden bridge on her horse—an unmistakable reminiscence of the chariot of the sun on the rainbow.

There are charms to lull a child to sleep, and these sometimes invoke mysterious beings—Kriks, Plaks, and Šteketuna—as well as the dawn, coupled with the names of Christian saints.

To save a man from drunkenness a worm is taken out of an empty wine-cask, dried, and then steeped anew in wine, whilst this formula is recited:

'Lord of the sea-depths! Carry the mettlesome heart of thy servant out of the shifting sands, the burning stones; breed in him a winged brood.'

The following examples illustrate the lyrical quality occasionally found in these strange compositions, especially in some of the spring invocations:

'Thou, Heaven, hearest, thou, Heaven, seeest what I wish to accomplish on the body of thy servant X. [There follow four words unintelligible. An unintelligible patter is sometimes found, which looks very like a tradition of a lost language.] Thou Moon, turn away the servant of God from wine; thou little Sun, bring peace to the servant of God from wine. Ye bright stars, do ye assemble in the wedding-cup! But in my cup be there water from the mountain-well! Ye stars, do ye wean X, the servant of God, from wine. My word is potent.'

'Thou bright Moon, come into my net! But in my net there is neither bottom nor cover! Thou generous Sun, approach my door, my courtyard, but in my courtyard there are neither men nor beasts.'

The field of Slav magic is too vast and intricate for adequate treatment in these few words. The varied superstitions have been voluminously compiled by Sakharov and his generation; but it should be particularly noted that there are extant songs of witches in a meaningless gibberish, which some philologist might very possibly interpret and so assign definitively some origin to part of the magic ritual, at any rate, of Russia.

In the 18th cent. Russian magic became specifically demonological. An infernal hierarchy was foisted upon it with anti-ecclesiastical ritual. These late charms impress the reader as being identically artificial, like the imitative ballads of the same period; in form they copy the mediæval spells.

*Summary.*—The history and decline of Russian magic, it would appear, traced the following course. The primitive vague and inchoate nature-worship of the Slav Aryans was profoundly influenced and deflected by the subject races of the Finns, Cuds, and other Turanian races, who became typical magicians and had mystic powers ascribed to them. The elaborate ritual of the Pomeranian Slavs originated in a greater intermixture of race, and, when suppressed, was soon forgotten; but it lingered on in tradition and folk-lore, in the incomprehensible patter of the spells, and especially in the legend of the isle of Buyán and the stone Alátyr.

As Christianity spread, the ancient gods of thunder, spring, and progeny, the sun and moon, etc., were duly canonized, whilst the pagan soul and the pagan adoration of nature remained the same, and the festivals were held, often on the same day in the same place, and with similar ceremonies.

In the second mediæval stage, merged in and with the incantation are village science and medicine, village nature-poetry, and primitive *religio loci*. The specialization of the medicine-man, the healer, the priest, and the minstrel came with advancing civilization, the herbalist degenerating into the magician and enchanter. Post-mediæval, a formal demonology arose, a positive anti-Christianity, artificial, sporadic, and short-lived.

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L. A. MAGNUS.

**MAGIC (Teutonic).**—In all ages and in all localities the belief in magic is found to have sprung from the same roots: panvitalism, i.e. the conception of nature as alive in every part; the incapacity of primitive man to distinguish persons or things from their names or representations; the belief in the transferability of the powers of nature and of human souls; and the dread of soul-spirits and demons, as also of such hostile persons as were believed to be in league with these supernatural existences. We need not wonder, therefore, if the means by which the various peoples of the earth have sought to defend themselves from all sinister influences of the kind should likewise show a large degree of uniformity. Naturally the most effective mode of securing immunity from the machinations of magic was to counteract them, if possible, by a magic still more potent. From the earliest times the amulet and the spell have been specially resorted to as protective expedients. While the former, however, was employed exclusively as a prophylactic, the magic formula was used in the practice of other kinds of the occult art, whether its design was beneficent or the reverse.

With reference to the ideas and customs associated with the belief in magic, the Teutons formed no exception to the general rule. Among them, as among other races, are found the belief in the soul and the various forms of superstition developed from and dependent upon it. The souls of the departed were believed to pervade and animate all nature; they could assume at will human or animal forms, and bring good or evil fortune to men. From the soul of the sorceress came the powers of the witch whose devices could work injury upon other human beings. Many of the nature-demons, whose place of origin was the physical environment, were regarded as being endowed with magical powers. Among the Germans, likewise, the practices of soothsaying and magic were intimately connected with the belief in soul-spirits. The prophetic faculty was attributed to women as well as men. In the north of Europe the *Völven* had a great reputation as prophetesses and sorceresses. The practice of magic was on the whole more fully developed among the Northern Teutons than in Germany, being fostered in the former case by the shamanism of the neighbouring Finns, a people famous over the entire North for their magic. The most powerful and formidable sorceresses mentioned by the Norse sagas belong, for the most part, to the Finnish race, which, again, in its religion, its demonology, and its magic, is very closely allied to the ancient Sumerian peoples. It is possible that many elements in the magic and demonology of the Northern Teutons were borrowed from the Finns. At all events, the practice of resorting to the latter people in order to acquire their magic arts became so prevalent that at a later time the Christian Church found it necessary to enact laws prohibiting it. But this was not the only channel by which the Teutons became acquainted with the magical ideas and usages of foreign, and especially of the Roman, Greek, and Oriental, peoples. The Northern Teutons visited the Mediterranean Sea

both as Vikings and as peaceful merchants, while the Southern Teutons were the near neighbours of the Romans, and were sometimes in their pay as mercenaries. In point of fact, however, the occult art and its adepts are found among the Teutons from the outset. Here, just as on Greek and Roman soil, the idea prevailed that it was possible to work changes in the nature of objects simply by the magical virtues of the spoken and written word or of the symbol. The magic utterance and the magic rune—the engraved talismanic symbol—were used for the most varied purposes. According to the *Ynglinga Saga*, runes and spells owed their origin to Oðin, while the rune-master of the *Hávamál* knows the right method of engraving the characters, as well as the songs which effect cures, restrain enemies, render weapons harmless, quench fires, subdue winds and waves, call up the dead, and awaken a maiden's love, though the words of the songs are not given. Other magic songs are referred to in the *Sigrdrífumál*. That a similar profusion of magic songs was to be found among the Southern Teutons is shown by the *Homilia de sacrilegiis*, which came into existence in the Southern Frankish kingdom under the Merovingians. Alike in the North and in the South these songs were in great part employed as expedients for the cure of disease in man and beast; nor is this to be wondered at when we remember that disease itself was regarded as due to demons and malefic magic. Magic alone, in fact, could undo the work of magic.

Now, the articles exclusively employed for the purpose of influencing the magical properties of things were amulets and ligatures. There was not the slightest misgiving as to the efficacy of the appropriate amulet. Discoveries in tombs furnish ample information regarding the objects specially in request as amulets among the Teutons. Thus, for the protection of the dead, belemnites, amber rings, stone arrow-heads, and hook crosses were laid in the grave along with the body. Amulets were also fashioned out of all kinds of objects bearing figures and drawings, while a special vogue was enjoyed by the so-called *bracteates*, which were imitated from Roman coins, and brought to the North in the early centuries of our era. These were mostly of gold. The images of the gods which served as amulets likewise date from the period of Roman influence.

When the missionaries of the Roman Church introduced the Christian religion among the Teutonic tribes, they found ideas and practices quite similar to what had prevailed in pagan Rome and its provinces. Accordingly, they sought to apply the same procedure as had been previously resorted to, i.e., they incorporated the deities of the pagan Teutons into the system of demons whose existence the Church recognized, while they forbade all worship of them, as also the practice of magic in general, and inflicted severe penalties upon the disobedient. From the early centuries of the Church's history, synods and councils had found it necessary to forbid even the priests to pander to the people's craving for amulets, written spells, adjurations, and magic potions; and, as late as the 8th cent., clergy in Thuringia, the missionary district of St. Boniface, were making amulets of small cards inscribed with Biblical verses of supposed protective or remedial powers, and hung from the neck by a cord, just as if they had been pieces of amber or agate. The use of incantations was also vigorously assailed from the pulpit, while other ecclesiastical enactments against amulets and spells are found among the rules for penance and in the ecclesiastical or Christian codes. Among the various collections of penitential regulations—which, it is true, prohibit many non-Teutonic

superstitions—a peculiar place is occupied by those of the Anglo-Saxons, as the Frankish regulations are in great measure verbally dependent upon them. They warn against 'divinationes,' 'anguria,' 'somnia,' 'mathematici,' 'emissores tempestatum,' and especially against 'incantationes diabolice,' 'filacteria,' and 'ligaturæ.' As yet excommunication was the extreme penalty for transgression. The Venerable Bede (*HE* iv. 27) relates that, during a time of pestilence and high mortality, recourse was had to adjurations and spells. The abbot Regino of Prüm has incorporated an entire series of the decrees of councils dealing with the subject in his work *de Synodaliibus Causis* (A.D. 906; *PL* cxxxii. 187 ff.), and from that work much has been borrowed by Burchard of Worms, who wrote about the beginning of the 11th century (*PL* cxi. 537 ff.).

That similar ideas and usages were still flourishing in England at this period is shown by Ælfric's *Passio S. Bartholomei Apostoli*, with its injunction that no one shall seek to regain health by using a ligature of medicinal herbs or praising a herb in a 'magic song.' The ecclesiastical ordinances of Eadgar and the Northumbrian priests' laws contain regulations to the same effect. Among the Northern Teutons likewise canon law directed its mandates against superstition and magic.

Till well on in the 16th cent. synods and councils of the Church were constantly under the necessity of dealing with the use of spells and amulets and the evils arising from them. Thus can. 9 of a papal bull enacts for the Lateran Council of 1514 that *sortilegia* made by invoking demons, by incantations, or by other superstitious practices are unlawful. Clerics who offend are to be punished at the discretion of their superiors, and laymen are to be excommunicated or visited with civil penalties.

In dealing with such offences, the national codes of the various Teutonic peoples do not show the same unanimity as the Church. The Teutonic nations that came into existence on Roman territory found it necessary to base their legislation against magic directly upon the ordinances of Roman law. The earliest Teutonic code, the *lex Visigothorum*, enacted (bk. vi. tit. 2, 4) that those who 'quibusdam incantationibus' bring hailstorms upon the fields and the vineyards 'ducentenis flagellis publice verberentur et decalvati deformiter decem convicinas possessiones circuire cogantur inviti.' Rotharis, king of the Longobardi, sternly prohibited the belief in cannibal witches. Among the Germans, as among all other races, the feeling prevailed that one who practised malefic magic must at all costs be got rid of, whether by expulsion from the tribe or by death. But, on the other hand, we have a variety of testimony from Northern Europe which seems to show that the practice of magic was not in all circumstances deemed criminal.

In the civil law of the Anglo-Saxons, from the 7th cent. onwards, we find penal enactments against superstition and magic, and in particular against the employment of spells and amulets. The laws of Alfred the Great dealing with magic are founded mainly on the Biblical denunciations of the practice. Of similar character are the legal ordinances directed against the occult art among the Northern Teutons. The older Icelandic canon law of the 12th cent. ordains that those who tamper with incantations or witchcraft shall be punished by banishment.

The evil against which the enactments of the Teutonic codes were mainly directed was malefic magic (*maleficium*). Until the 8th cent. we find no similar enactments against other superstitions which eventually gathered round the belief in witchcraft. But the belief in the existence of cannibal witches and in witches' flights was ex-

plicitly forbidden by ecclesiastical and civil legislation, though Ivo of Chartres (c. A.D. 1100) thought it possible that witches exerted some influence upon the sexual functions. The Church, however, notwithstanding all its exertions, was by no means successful in ridding the people of their magic beliefs and practices. Both continued to flourish abundantly in the department of medicine, thanks to the recrudescence of the old neo-Platonic—in reality, the Babylonian-Egyptian—doctrine of demons. At an early period medicine had become the monopoly of the cloister; the demons of disease were exorcized by the priest; and to relics, to the rosary, and to the 'Agnus Dei' were ascribed the greatest virtues. Those who in sickness and trouble applied to the priests were treated by means of the amulet and the incantation, so that as late as the 16th cent.—at a time, that is, when a medical profession in the proper sense existed—adjurations were still resorted to by doctors.

The attitude of the Church towards the belief in magic was twofold. On the one hand, it accepted magic as an indisputable reality. On the other hand, it ranged itself with the civil legislation in an uncompromising opposition to certain dangerous popular superstitions. But in the 13th cent. came a momentous change in the Church's standpoint. The doctrine of Satan was now made the basis of the doctrine of magic and witchcraft. The nightly journeys of witches, the transformation of human beings into animals, the sexual intercourse of men with female demons, and the operation of sorcery in the sexual functions—all these things were now accepted as facts not to be gainsaid. Then in the 14th cent. the two currents of heresy and sorcery, which had hitherto run side by side, became amalgamated with each other, and merged in the belief in witchcraft. While among the Teutonic tribes the practice of magic had hitherto been penalized—to speak strictly—only because of the mischief which it might work, in the 13th cent. the civil legislatures in Germany likewise resolved upon a new policy. The Old Saxon code (*Sachsenspiegel*) sent those who practised magic of any kind to the stake, and its example was followed by other municipal and territorial codes. In spite of the rigour of the Inquisition, it is true, the earlier penal law (which threatened with excommunication the users of incantations, amulets, or other magic devices) was still pleaded for by the councils and by certain outstanding men among the clergy. But the Inquisition at length silenced every stricture against its competence to deal with magic. By the civil legislation of the 16th cent. those who dealt in magic and soothsaying were punished mainly by fines; the death-penalty was scarcely ever mooted. On the other hand, the Hamburg criminal code of 1508 enacts that the punishment of malefic magic shall be death by fire, and this clause was taken over by the Imperial legislation—the 'peinliche Gerichtsordnung Kaiser Karls v.'—while we find that the criminal code of the Electorate of Saxony (1572) sentenced witches to death by fire, and its example was followed by the legislation of the several States. The persecution of witches was gradually introduced into the various territories of Germany during the second half of the 16th century. In England the earliest processes of this kind seem to have been trials for real or alleged attacks upon the person of the sovereign, as from the reign of Henry VI. But in England the laws against witchcraft were in general much more lenient than was commonly the case on the Continent. Witch-persecution in England dates from about the middle of the 16th cent.; in Scotland cases are found as early as the beginning of that century. With regard to Sweden, we are not in a position to say whether witches were burned



before or during the Thirty Years' War. These measures, however, were incapable of extirpating the belief in magic—just as the Reformation itself failed to destroy it, though the delusion certainly received a telling blow from the Reformers. As to the question whether sorcery has a foundation in fact, the Reformers themselves shared the ideas of their age, and the final deathblow to the belief in witchcraft and sorcery was administered by the reconstituted sciences of modern times.

Even in the earliest ages a clear line of demarcation was drawn between lawful and unlawful magic. The latter was treated by all races with the utmost rigour, and not seldom punished with death. Among the Teutons, as elsewhere, incantations and amulets were utilized as a means of securing protection and profit to the individual and his belongings, and also to work injury upon others, and their possessions. The magic spells of the Teutons may therefore be arranged in two main divisions, according to the purposes that they were intended to serve: (1) magic formulæ supposed to secure protection and advantage; (2) magic formulæ intended to injure others. But, as the subject itself suggests, the former class may be further divided according to the effects which the spells were intended to produce. Their object might be either (a) to drive away an existent evil, to 'exorcize' it, or (b) to avert a possible evil by means of a 'blessing.' This dichotomy of the first main group, however, will not be found exhaustive, and it is necessary to mark off another subdivision. Magic formulæ were used not only for the purpose of dislodging present and averting future evils, but also as a means of inducing spirits to throw light upon the future, and upon hidden things generally. In so far as this (c) prophetic magic (as it may be called) had often to do with things which lay in the future, it comes into close touch with the class of magic formulæ designed to prevent possible evil. But, while the received spells can for the most part be assigned to one or other of these four *genera*, many particular species may be differentiated within the larger groups. The number of different varieties will in general correspond to that of the various purposes which the formulæ were meant to serve.

Magic can be overcome only by counter-magic; such was at one time the universal postulate of the occult art. In primitive times, however, all sorcery consisted in words and symbols, generally conjoined with actions. Thus, with reference to the Germans, Tacitus (*Germania* x.) states that, when the deity was consulted by means of the lot, the priests held aloft the magic wand engraved with symbols, muttering incantations the while. Sundry Anglo-Saxon spells specify the appropriate action to be performed. Thus the incantation for bewitched soil gives precise directions regarding the requisite symbolic actions and sacrificial usages. For the formula against the machinations of witches the instruction runs: 'wið fæstlice feferfuige and seo reada netele, ðe purh ærn inwyrð, and wegbrade: wyll in buteran'; then at the end, 'nim þonne þæt sæx, ado on wætan.' But word and action had already been frequently employed independently of each other, and it is not surprising that the word came to be used apart from all accessories or symbolic actions. The Teutonic conviction that magical effects could be directly produced by the spoken word must doubtless have found expression in the particular form of the spell. But the simplest—and hence, no doubt, the oldest—vehicle of direct influence is the express command, and, accordingly, such command must have formed the nucleus of the Teutonic incantation. Two examples of Teutonic spells may be given here. The first is a formula from the 9th–10th cent., which has come down to us bearing the title 'contra vermes'

(C. von Müllenhoff and W. Scherer, *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa*, i. [1892] 17):

'Gang út, nesso, mid nigon nesiðkinnon  
 út fana themo marge an that bæn,  
 fan themo bène an that fleg,  
 út fan themo flege an this hód,  
 út fan them hód an thesa strála,  
 drohtín, uerthe só!'

With this may be associated the Anglo-Saxon 'blessing of bees,' the 'wyð ymbe,' from a Cambridge MS of the 11th century. After a direction regarding a magical action, and a verse explanatory thereof, it continues (C. W. M. Grein and R. P. Wülker, *Bibliothek der angelsächs. Poesie*, i. [1883] 319 f.):

'Sitte ge, sigewit, sigaf to eorpan!  
 nestr ge wilde to wudu fleogan!  
 Beo ge swaagemindige mines godes,  
 swa bið manna gehwilo metes and epeles.'

It is quite conceivable that spells of this kind should exist independently, and unattached to any preliminary narrative. This has been observed also by Schröder in his article 'Über das Spell' (*ZDA* xxxvii. 259):

'Probable as it is that at a certain stage of civilization the action of the *galdr*, i.e. the spell in the proper sense, or of certain species of it, was produced in connexion with the narration of a particular mythical incident, yet there is not the slightest doubt that in other periods the epic narrative and the magic formula are disjoined, and may each maintain a separate existence.'

Besides these adjurations strictly so called, which were complete in themselves, and which may be regarded as the earliest Teutonic spells, there comes down to us from the same age another species—that in which an epic narrative is prefixed to the formula proper.

The classical examples of this type are the two Merseburg incantations, and the Anglo-Saxon spell against the practices of the witch is constructed on similar lines. The substance of the introductory portion—the narrative—is generally borrowed from mythology. The procedure was to relate some incident traditionally associated with an effect identical with or similar to that which the formula was meant to produce. It was not necessary to say in so many words that the spell should now operate with like efficacy; the bare recitation of the story invested the formula with all the potency required. But this dependence of the formula upon the narrative certainly indicates a change of view regarding the power of the formula. The performer has lost his earlier reliance on his own capacity, and this must, accordingly, be reinforced from without.

While this epic type of spell is often referred to as the primitive Teutonic form, the facts would seem to imply its secondary character, though its root may indeed lie in paganism, but in any case the recitation of a short narrative before the actual formula is not peculiar to the Teutons—let alone the Western Teutons—this form of spell being traceable among other races and in much more remote times. It was certainly known to the Romans and the Hindus. But, as a matter of fact, there is evidence to show that it was not even a distinctively Indogermanic usage, since it is found also among the Babylonians and the Egyptians. An Egyptian papyrus of the XXth dynasty (now in Turin), for instance, contains a spell which in its whole design shows a striking resemblance to the Merseburg incantation for fracture of the leg. In the Babylonian and Egyptian spells, too, precisely as in the Teutonic, the scene of the narrative part is always laid in the mythological sphere. In view of the vast influence exercised by the Oriental, and especially the Babylonian and Egyptian, magical ideas upon the nations of the West, it is a tempting conjecture that Oriental models may have been largely instrumental in propagating the narrative spell among the Indogermanic peoples of Europe—first of all in the Greek and Roman area, and then derivatively in the Teutonic. At all events, the theory that the Teutons had a primitive type of spell consisting of a prose narrative followed by a rhythmical formula, as adopted by Schröder (*loc. cit.*), is beside the purpose. The primordial element was certainly the formula, the narrative being added later; and, as we have seen, each could



be used by itself alone. We find, moreover, that in Christian times quite different introductions were combined with the real nucleus of the spell. We must therefore think of each part as distinct in itself, and in no degree the less so because in the recitation 'saying and singing' came alternately. In all probability the spells were simply muttered in an undertone; there is a large mass of evidence—and not from Teutonic sources only—pointing to this mode of recital.

Thus the missionaries who came to evangelize the Teutonic tribes found two types of indigenous incantations, viz. the purely imperative and the narrative. As the Church was unable to put an end to heathen customs and practices, or the use of magic formulae, it adopted the policy of assimilating everything that could in any way be reconciled with its own views, hoping that by the device of clothing the objectionable thing in a Christian garb, it might succeed in eradicating the superstitions of the heathen. It likewise endeavoured to transform the ancient formulae, and here probably its first, as also its most urgent, task was to eliminate the heathen characters from the narrative spells and put Christian ones in their place. These new formulae were generally composed in verse, and were embellished with rhyme. Their narrative portions exhibited Biblical characters, such as Jesus, Mary, the apostles, and others, in perfectly appropriate situations—a fact which in itself conclusively shows that the spells in question originated in ecclesiastical circles. Such imitations of heathen formulae composed by the clergy are relatively numerous, and date for the most part from the 11th and 12th centuries.

From this narrative species of Christian spell, again, was in part evolved a new type. This took the form of a comparison or allegory, and its rubric ran thus: 'As such and such a result was brought about then, so let it be produced now.' Very few of the surviving spells of this type are in metrical form; the great majority are in prose.

A further form of blessing, for the use and diffusion of which the clergy must again be regarded as mainly responsible, derives its origin from the special Roman Catholic ceremonies known as the sacramentals. New formulae were formed on the pattern of the 'exorcisms,' 'benedictions,' and 'consecrations,' or these were simply translated into the vernacular. This species is probably not older than the 13th century.

Mention must also be made of a type of magic formula in regard to which the monks played merely an intermediate rôle. This group consists mainly of formulae handed down in ancient medical writings. The design of most of these is the cure of disease, but adjurations for use in digging up medicinal plants were also transmitted in this way. These formulae were, of course, mostly in the Latin language. Their potency lay mainly in phrases and letters—magic words and characters largely of Eastern origin, being derived from Babylonian, Egyptian, and Jewish magic. This group, accordingly, comprises the most ancient type of spell, which, it is to be observed, always exhibits an unintelligible jumble of words. From the earliest times, indeed, this very unintelligibility was the indispensable condition of the efficacy of the spell. From the 13th cent., however, we must take account also of another contributory source of the superstition which is concerned with words and letters—and, it may be added, numbers also. This was the religious philosophy of the Jews, as set forth in the works of the Kabbālā (q.v.).

These leading types will suffice to classify the great majority of magic formulae, and even the hybrid, composite, and other derivative varieties which inevitably made their appearance in the

course of centuries. But the prime factor in such secondary formations was doubtless oral tradition, to the action of which a large proportion of the spells would certainly be subject at some stage of their development. The learned formulae of the Church are usually of considerable length, and in their full form would have relatively little vogue among the common people. From these larger spells, accordingly, certain typical portions were excerpted, and then used independently. The popular mind laid the main emphasis upon the nucleus of the spell—the formula proper; and examples of this type become numerous from the 16th century. In these the strict parallelism of the earlier ecclesiastical blessings is to some extent abandoned. It was now considered sufficient to say: 'As surely as this act has taken place, so surely may this effect ensue.' Sometimes, in fact, the place of the parallel is taken by the antithesis. It became the practice, further, to draw upon still more remote quarters for the conclusion of the blessing, and to introduce formulae which in themselves had formerly done duty as blessings, so that the formulae of blessing, being supplemented by invocations of God and multiplied petitions, often actually approximated to the character of prayer itself.

When we consider the mass of Teutonic formulae—even with the 16th cent. as the ulterior limit—in relation to the purposes which they were meant to serve, we see that the multiplicity of forms mentioned in the *Hávamál*, the *Sigrdrífumál*, and the *Homília de sacrilegiis* is by no means an exaggeration. Adjurations against disease certainly constitute the largest class. Many maladies were believed to be due to malignant demons and unfriendly magicians, and were therefore combated by the magic formula. But the same means was employed in dealing with diseases about the origin of which there was no uncertainty. The remedies employed in such cases were supposed to acquire peculiar efficacy by having a spell uttered over them.

Nor was it human beings only who in their distresses were benefited by spells. As had been believed from the earliest times, protection was equally indispensable for the lower creatures most closely associated with human life, viz. the domestic animals. In their case also, therefore, magic formulae were used to ward off disease and other evils. The dog, and especially the shepherd's dog, was protected in this way from the dangers to which it was exposed from wild beasts. People were very specially concerned, however, to guard against the bite of mad dogs. A certain blessing, 'ad pullos de nido,' was supposed to help the growth of chickens. The purpose of the somewhat numerous 'bee-blessings' was to keep the insects from swarming.

There was, besides, a multitude of adjurations for animals other than the domestic. People tried to rid their houses of flies, mice, and rats by appeal to the power of the formula; wolves were adjured not to hurt the cattle in the fields; serpents, to be easily caught. The bite of the serpent was averted by spells, and by means of adjurations the reptiles were induced to yield up the potent ophite stone, and to be obedient to all commands. The tooth and the right forepaw of the badger acted as charms against all kinds of injury, and with the shoulder of a toad a man could win the love of whomsoever he chose.

In the therapeutics of ancient and mediæval times an important place was assigned to medicinal herbs. It was of vital moment, however, that these herbs should still retain their supposed virtues after being plucked, and certain magical formulae were believed to ensure this. The practice was to adjure either the whole world of herbs,

or a definite number of them (cf. the Anglo-Saxon 'nine-herb spell'), or, again, some particular herb. But still further manifestations of the potency of herbs could be elicited. They could be made to secure the traveller against fatigue, to act as a defence against weapons, and to protect the cattle from sorcery and the crops from hailstorms. They could also help one to win love, to open locks, to ascertain truth, and to read both the future and the past.

Then the magic formulæ served to protect men not only against disease, but also against the malice of their fellows and the threat of misfortune. By their aid a person sought to safeguard himself—especially when on a journey—against the artifice of his enemies, to blunt their weapons, and to free himself from prison. By the same means he could defend himself against malefic magic, and against the bewitching of his food and drink. Other formulæ possessed the power of procuring friendship, love, and favour, and of gaining justice before a legal tribunal. Wives sought, through the medium of magic, to turn the harshness of their husbands into love. An astute merchant of the 16th cent. would even try by a spell to induce people to buy up his stock of stale wares.

Human life was thus surrounded by a rampart of spells, and property likewise was in similar fashion made proof against evil influences. Houses were secured by spells against burglary and fire, and corn in the granaries was kept from decay. If anything was lost or stolen, the magic formula could restore it, and even lead to the discovery of the thief. The same means were also used to protect, and to increase, the fruits of gardens and fields.

The number of extant magic formulæ designed to work harm is quite insignificant—a circumstance which is, no doubt, due to the rigorous treatment meted out from the earliest times to the practice of malefic magic. Such hurtful spells might be used by the malicious to sow dissension between old friends, to change the love of a married couple into hatred, to bring every conceivable disaster upon another, and even to overwhelm with destruction all that he possessed.

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**MAGIC (Vedic).**—1. *Definition.*—The sphere of cult and ritual has two aspects in Vedic literature—religion and magic. The former (see art. VEDIC RELIGION) represents the relation of man to the gods and lesser divine beings. Its object is to cultivate their goodwill by means of hymns as well as sacrifice, and thus to induce them to bestow in return the benefits which man desires. The essential character of Vedic religion, therefore, is propitiatory and persuasive. Magic, on the other hand, endeavours to gain its ends by influencing the course of events, without the intervention of divine beings, by means of spells and ritual. Its essential character is, therefore, coercive. Both aim at the same result, but in different ways. Religion achieves its purpose indirectly by inclining the will of a powerful ally through prayer and gifts, for instance, to destroy an enemy; magic does so directly by operating with the impersonal (and imaginary) causal connexion between the means which it employs and the effect to be attained, as burning the effigy of an enemy in order to burn the enemy himself. Its practice was in part auspicious and beneficent, as the ritual for the obtaining of offspring or luck, of rain or victory, but it was largely maleficent in the interest of individuals and not of the community, and, therefore, as being dangerous, was condemned by the priesthood, except in so far as it was applied by themselves.

2. *Literary sources.*—The sphere of religion, as considered apart from magic, is chiefly represented by the earliest product of Indian literature, the Rigveda, which consists almost entirely of hymns addressed to various gods, in which their greatness and their deeds are praised and all kinds of welfare are prayed for, and which are intended to accompany the ritual of the Soma sacrifice (cf. art. HYMNS [Vedic], § 7 f.). Only a dozen of its 1028 hymns are concerned with magic, about one half of them being auspicious, the rest maleficent in character. As to any magical rites connected with the sacrifice, the Rigveda gives us no information. On the other hand, magic is the main and essential subject-matter of the Atharvaveda (art. HYMNS [Vedic], § 11); it is a collection of metrical spells, largely to be accompanied by ceremonies aiming at the welfare of the magician or the injury of his enemies. The Yajurveda (art. HYMNS [Vedic], § 13) occupies an intermediate position between these two Vedas as regards magic. In its original part, which consists of prose formulæ, the gods are only secondary, bearing a kind of mechanical relation to the sacrificial ceremonial with which these formulæ are associated, and which they follow in its minutest details. Its character is thus of a magical rather than a religious type. The great development, in this period, of an intricate ritual and the concentration of sacerdotal thought on its perfect performance had led to the new conception that sacrifice was not meant to propitiate the gods, but directly to control the natural course of things.

The prose theological works called Brāhmapas,

which represent the next stage of Vedic literature, being concerned with explaining and interpreting the details of the ritual, supply much information regarding the magical notions and observances with which the sacrificial ceremonial was permeated. The Upaniṣads, though a continuation of the Brāhmaṇas, are philosophical rather than religious, but their speculations on the nature of *brahman* and on the supernatural powers acquired by knowledge and asceticism are charged with magical notions.

The final phase of Vedic literature, which comes down to c. 200 B.C., is represented by the Sūtras. These concise manuals, especially those dealing with domestic life (*gṛhya*), and to a less extent those concerned with customary law (*dharma*), show how the observances of everyday life were saturated with magical beliefs and practices (cf. also art. LITERATURE [Vedic and Classical Sanskrit], §§ 8-12).

3. Importance of the subject.—A knowledge of Vedic magic is obviously important to the investigator of magic in general, for here we have magical material, bearing on every aspect of human life, which began to be recorded well over 3000 years ago, and which can, from that time onwards, be historically studied in continuous successive literary stages, extending over more than 1000 years. Such facilities are afforded by no other ancient literature as regards either the antiquity or the quantity and quality of the evidence afforded. The material in Vedic literature does not require to be laboriously gathered together from scanty and scattered references, as is necessary elsewhere. It is here supplied not only in great abundance, but, for the most part, in an easily accessible collected form. Its aid is, moreover, essential to the student of Indian religion: without it he would arrive at erroneous or exaggerated conclusions as to the purity and advanced character of the beliefs and practices of that religion in its earliest form.

4. Sacrifice and magic.—Considering that in the Rigveda we have a collection of prayers, and in the Atharvaveda one of spells, are we justified in supposing that the spheres of religion and of magic were already separated in the Vedic period? By no means. It is, indeed, certain that the sacrificial invocation had by that time assumed a literary type, and that the hymns of a magical character found in the Rigveda are very few and late. It must, however, be borne in mind that the prayers of the Rigveda, being addressed to the great gods, offered few opportunities for references to magical practices, while the ritual which the hymns of the Rigveda were intended to accompany, and which is fully described in other Vedic texts, is, though carried out by the sacrificial priests, from beginning to end saturated with magical observances. Again, where there is a group of ceremonies directed to the accomplishment of a particular purpose and, therefore, favourable to a greater prominence of the magical element, such as the wedding and funeral rites, we meet with quite a network of magical usages bearing the stamp of extreme antiquity. It is thus impossible to suppose that the sacrificial priests of the Rigveda, the composers of the old hymns, should have occupied an isolated position, untouched by magical practices derived from a much earlier age and afterwards continued throughout the priestly literature of later times. In fact, a close examination of the hymns of the Rigveda actually affords evidence that even in them the belief in magical power independent of the gods is to be found. Thus in one hymn (X. xvi.) the sacrificing priest Devāpi begins with the intention of appealing to the gods for rain, but then himself brings down the waters by the magical powers of his sacrificial art: 'the sage Devāpi sat down to the

duty of Hotṛ priest, familiar with the goodwill of the gods; he then poured down from the sea above to the sea below the heavenly waters of rain' (v. v.). Every page of the Brāhmaṇas and of the ritual Sūtras shows that the whole sacrificial ceremonial was overgrown with the notion that the sacrifice exercised power over gods and, going beyond them, could directly influence things and events without their intervention. An incipient form of this notion already appears in the Rigveda, where exaggerated sacrificial powers are in several passages mythically attributed to ancient priests; e.g., 'with mighty spells the Fathers found the hidden light and produced the dawn' (VII. lxxvi. 4); 'the Fathers adorned the sky with stars, like a black steed with pearls; they placed darkness in night and light in day' (X. lxviii. 11); 'with their kindled fire the Angirases (ancient priests) found the cows and steeds hidden by (the demon) Papi' (I. lxxxiii. 4); they 'by their rite caused the sun to mount the sky' (X. lxii. 3); '(the ancient fire priest) Atharvan by sacrifices first prepared the paths; then the sun, the guardian of ordinances, was born' (I. lxxxiii. 5). The ancient priest Viśvāmītra, by directly invoking the rivers, made them fordable for the tribe of the Bharatas (III. xxxiii. 1-12). The composers of all such passages must have attributed to the sacrifice in their own day the powers which they thus projected into the past.

An examination of the ritual literature shows that the dividing line between a sacrificial act, which is meant to propitiate the gods, and a magical act, which is intended to control the course of things, is by no means always definite, but that the two are often intermingled. Thus the morning sacrifice at sunrise, of which we read in the Rigveda (e.g., IV. li. 7), when the fire is kindled and an offering is made to the fire-god, in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (II. iii. 1. 5) assumes a magical character, the fire being kindled to produce sunrise: 'By offering before sunrise he (the sacrificer) makes him (the sun) to be born: he would not rise, if he were not to sacrifice in it (the fire).' A similar view seems already to be expressed in a verse of the Rigveda: 'Let us kindle thee, O Agni, that thy wondrous brand may shine in heaven' (V. vi. 4). Again, there are several passages in the Rigveda (e.g., IX. xlix. 1, xevii. 17, cvi. 9, cviii. 9f.) in which the Soma ritual is spoken of in the magical character of producing rain direct, without influencing the goodwill of the gods that shed rain.

The blending of a sacrificial and a magic rite may be of two kinds. A ceremony which is primarily sacrificial may assume a magical character by the nature of the object which is offered for the attainment of a special purpose.

There can be little doubt that only food eaten by man originally constituted the sacrifice offered to the gods in fire. On the Vedic sacrificial ground there was, by the side of the fire, the litter of grass (*barkhā*) on which the gods were conceived as sitting to receive the offering. On the conclusion of the ceremony the *barkhā* was thrown into the fire, originally, no doubt, to render it innocuous after, by the divine presence, it had become dangerous to profane contact. To the *barkhā* corresponds, in the ancient Persian ritual, the *barsman* (a bundle of twigs; see art. BARSOM) on which the sacrificial offerings were placed, and which was the seat of the gods. This indicates that the oblation in fire was an Indo-Aryan innovation, and that the burning of the *barkhā* not improbably formed the transition to the fire-sacrifice.

The ritual literature furnishes innumerable examples of sacrifice receiving a magical turn by the employment or addition of a non-eatable substance; as when a man wishing for cattle offers the dung of a couple of calves (*Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*, IV. ix. 13f.); or when poison is added to an offering in order to destroy ants (*Kaustika Sūtra*, xvi.). On the other hand, objects suitable for direct magical manipulation could easily be turned into an offering by those habituated to the sacrificial idea in order to invest magical acts with the garb of sacrifice. Thus the

burning of injurious substances would become a sacrifice; for instance, arrow tips might be offered in order to destroy an enemy (*ib. xlvii. 44*). In this way the sacrifice came to assume the rôle of driving away demons; of helping a woman to overcome her rivals; of enabling a prince to conquer his enemies or to return from exile; and of producing many other magical results. The gradual mixture of the religious and the magical in the direction of the latter led the whole system of sacrifice to assume this character in the later Vedic period.

Various causes contributed to this result. The belief in the divine presence at the sacrifice, and in the mysterious success produced by the sacrifice, encouraged an increasing application of magical practices as the ceremonial system became more elaborate. Secondary observances of the sacrificial ritual might already have belonged to the sphere of magic from the beginning. Efforts to explain accidental features of the ceremonial would lead to the discovery of effects allied to magic. Priests would also foster belief in the magical power of sacrifice in order to secure their own indispensableness. The magical tendency would be increased by the mixture of prayer and spell; if in the prayer accompanying the sacrifice the magical effects of a spell were assumed, such effects would naturally be attributed to the sacrifice also.

**5. Predominantly magical ritual.**—There are several groups of rites which, though belonging to the sphere of sacrifice, are predominantly magical in character. They are partly connected with family and partly with public life. The most important of these are:

(1) *The wedding ceremony.*—What little worship of the gods is found in this group of rites is almost restricted to the cult of Agni, the domestic god, who was constituted a witness of the marriage, and who, in the form of the domestic fire, was to accompany the young pair through life. On the other hand, the ceremony was surrounded by magical acts, of which the following were the principal. The bride's hand was grasped that she might be delivered into the power of her husband. She stepped on a stone to acquire firmness. She took seven steps with him in order to establish friendship. She ate the sacrificial food with him to create community of life. When she reached her husband's house, she sat down on a red bull's hide to ensure fertility. The son of a woman who had borne only living male children was placed on her lap in order to fulfill the hope of healthy male progeny. Later, during pregnancy, a magical powder was placed in her nose to secure the birth of a son.

(2) *Initiation.*—Of the various religious ceremonies which were performed during boyhood, and which display the same predominantly magical character, the chief was that of initiation (*upanayana*). This, though not mentioned in the Rigveda, goes back to pre-historic times, as is shown by the parallel Avestic ceremony, and is the Vedic transformation of a rite by which, on the attainment of puberty, a boy was received into the community of men. In India it was regarded as a second birth, as being the entry into a new life, when the boy was introduced to a religious teacher with a view to Vedic study. The outward signs of the initiation are the girdle, which is wound three times round the pupil's waist, and the sacred cord, worn over the left shoulder and under the right arm, with which he is invested. The ceremony includes a number of observances and involves various tabus in regard to food, some of which will be mentioned below (see also *VEDIC RELIGION*, § 64, and cf. *INITIATION* [Hindu]).

(3) *Public rites.*—The public ceremonies of Vedic times were performed on behalf not of the clan or tribe as such, but of an individual, who in these cases was the king. The most prominent of them, aiming at the attainment of certain definite purposes, are magical in their main elements. At the royal consecration (*abhisheka* [*q.v.*]) the king sits on a throne made of wood from the *udumbara* fig-tree, which to the Indian was the embodiment of all nourishment. The seat was covered with a tiger-skin, the emblem of invincible strength. The contents of a cup made of *udumbara* wood, filled with butter, honey, and rain-water, were poured over the king in order to communicate to him their strength and abundance. The royal inauguration (*rajasheya*) is a further series of rites, chiefly of a symbolical character (cf. *ix* (b)) intended to ensure a successful reign. A still more imposing ceremony was the *Vajapeya*, the two main features of which, a conventional race and another symbolic observance, have a magic purpose (*ix* (b)); cf. further, art. *ASURKRA*. Finally, the horse sacrifice (*ashvamedha* [*q.v.*]) was the highest sacrificial expression of regal power, which was undertaken for the fulfilment of all the most ambitious wishes of the king, and in which the victim indicated the desire to transfer the swift might of the horse to the sacrificing monarch.

**6. Priest and magician.**—The magician of pre-historic ages, who manipulated only the lower ritual concerned with demons and natural forces, had long before the time of the Rigveda (at least as early as the Indo-European period) developed into the priest, who dealt with a higher cult in which

he invoked and sacrificed to gods. In the later Vedic period of the Yajurveda, however, we find the priest to a considerable extent reverting to the rôle of a magician; for he now constantly appears, independently of the gods, driving away evil spirits or influencing the powers of nature by the use of spells and other expedients of sorcery. In various lesser rites the priest acts quite in the style of pre-historic times. Thus he makes the bride step on a stone to ensure steadfastness; he causes fish to be eaten for the attainment of speed; he produces an imitation of rain that it may actually rain—here he is not a servant of the gods, but a magician. Yet even in the earliest period, that of the Rigveda, the sacrificial priest was a magician as well (though by no means necessarily the only magician, for both here and later references are made to sorcerers whose magic is directed against the sacrificial priest). It cannot be supposed that even the most advanced minds among the priests regarded prayer and sacrifice as the only means of securing welfare, while rejecting magic as an ineffective and reprehensible superstition. Magic was still to some extent used by those who had occasion to apply it, as is apparent from the character of some hymns of the Rigveda which, although late, form part of its canonical text. But not the employment of every form of magic was approved nor the practice of magic as a profession, doubtless because alliance with evil spirits and the use of maleficent magic were liable to injure the community. This is sufficiently clear from the words of the author of a passage of the Rigveda: 'May I die to-day if I am a sorcerer (*yātudhāna*), or if I have harassed any man's life; then may he lose his ten sons who falsely calls me "sorcerer"; he who calls me, that am no sorcerer, a practiser of sorcery, or who, being a demon, says that he is pure, may Indra strike him with his mighty weapon, may he sink down below every creature' (*vii. civ. 15f.*). It was because the Atharvaveda contained a body of maleficent spells that it did not attain to canonical recognition till after it had become associated with the sacrificial cult by the addition to its text of numerous hymns borrowed from the Rigveda. On the other hand, in the Atharvaveda itself (*e.g.*, *v. viii.*, *vii. lxx.*) magic is expressly approved when directed against the sacrifice offered by an enemy; and the ritual texts are full of directions for the sacrificer who wishes to destroy his enemy, in particular, when he desires to give his sacrifice a magical turn for the purpose of inflicting injury. The post-Vedic *Code of Manu* even contains the express statement (*xi. 33*) that the magic spells of the Atharvaveda are the Brāhman's weapon, which he may use without hesitation against his foes. In the Upanishads the magician-priest has become a philosopher who has passed from the path of ritual (*karma*) to that of knowledge (*jñāna*); but his mode of thought is still full of traits derived not only from sacrificial, but from magic lore. Of such a nature are his conceptions of the world-soul (*brahman* [*q.v.*]) and of the identity with it of the individual soul (*ātman* [*q.v.*]), as well as his speculations on the sacred syllable *om* (analogous in sense to 'amen'). Such, too, is his doctrine of *karma* (*q.v.*) as an impersonal power which, free from any divine influence, rules future existences with inexorable force. The same mental attitude is indicated by his approval of the grotesque and forcible exercises of Yoga, which is an inextricable blend of philosophy and magic. By the aid of Yoga he believed himself capable of acquiring the ability to make himself minute and invisible, to increase his size infinitely, to multiply his body, to remember his former existences, and so forth.

**7. Asceticism and magic.**—There is evidence that from the earliest Vedic period ascetic prac-

toes (*tapas*, lit. 'heat'), primarily exposure to heat, but including other forms of self-mortification, such as fasting, abstinence, and silence, were regarded as a means of attaining various supernatural powers resulting from the ecstatic condition induced by them. Thus the Rigveda says (x. cxxxvi. 2) of those who are in such a frenzied condition that 'the gods have entered into them.' A poet of the same Veda tells (viii. lix. 6) how, in a vision produced by austerity (*tapas*), he saw the old creations of ancient sages, the first sacrificers, in the remotest past of the human race. There are many other Vedic passages ascribing similar powers: dream is born from the soul filled with austerity (Atharvaveda, xix. lvi. 5); speech born of austerity penetrates to the gods (*Taittiriya Aranyaka*, v. vi. 7); he who has practised great austerity reaches the sun (Rigveda, x. oliv. 2); after practising austerity Indra won heaven (x. elxvii. 1); the magical power of austerity peculiar to the Brāhman will bring calamity on the man who injures him (x. cix. 4). Austerity confers the power to produce the mightiest creations: the goddess *Aṣṭakā*, performing austerity, produced the greatness of Indra (Atharvaveda, iii. x. 12); the seers were born of austerity (xi. i. 26, xviii. ii. 15, 18). In many passages of the Brāhmanas the creator *Prajāpati* is described as gaining by the practice of austerity the power to evolve out of himself the worlds and all living creatures; and in one place (*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, x. iv. 4. 2) he appears as practising such asceticism that from all his pores came forth lights, which are the stars. The Brāhmanas also tell how various mythical beings attained by austerity to a high degree of enlightenment that revealed to them some secret of sacrificial lore. It is for such magical effects that austerity is required as an essential element in the preparation for various particularly holy sacrificial rites. Thus the Soma sacrifice is preceded by a consecration (*dikṣā*) of the sacrificer in which he practises austerity lasting, according to some authorities (ib. xiii. i. 7. 2), till complete physical exhaustion ensues.

8. **Magical conditions and agencies.**—Magical effect is largely, if not altogether, based on contact (very often impalpable), which has to be brought about if the agency is beneficial to oneself, or to be prevented if the agency is injurious to oneself. The result desired is attained by the use of spells and rites of various kinds. The place selected for the practice of magic, except when it is an element of the sacrificial ceremonial, is generally a lonely one. A cemetery, the seat of flesh-eating demons, is a specially suitable place for its operations. A cross-road is a favourite locality to divest oneself of evil influences. A secluded part of a house, a shed, and solitary spots in field or forest are also used. The time at which many operations of hostile magic take place is night; but that of others depends on their circumstances or their purpose. Direction is an important element. Thus the south is the home of demons and *manes*; hence performers of rites connected with them must face that point of the compass. In auspicious rites walking and other kinds of movement are directed from left to right, following the course of the sun, while in funeral and other uncanny ceremonies the direction is invariably reversed, the performers moving from north to south.

(a) **Spirits and demons.**—Some of the lesser spirits are concerned only with one activity, such as presiding over the fields and helping at harvest; others, with *Arbudi* at their head, are invoked to spread terror and death among enemies on the field of battle (Atharvaveda, xi. ix. 1 ff.). The characteristic of most of the rest is to cause damage and destruction in the sphere of human life. These demons are usually called by the

generic name of *rakṣas*, *yātu*, or *piśācha*, though many of them also have individual designations. Their appearance is for the most part human, though often with some kind of deformity; but they not infrequently have an animal or bird shape, such as that of a dog, wolf, owl, or vulture. They also appear in assumed figures, human or animal; thus at funeral rites they intrude in the form of the souls of the ancestors to whom the offering is made; and they approach women in various disguises. The sorcerer himself (as well as the spirits serving him) might assume animal form and thus injure his enemies. Belief in such transformation is already expressed in the Rigveda, where hostile magicians are spoken of as becoming birds and flying about at night (vii. civ. 18). Setting demons in motion is regarded as letting them loose against an enemy. Thus in the Rigveda (x. ciii. 12) the demon of disease *Apvā* is let loose against a hostile army with the spell: 'Go forth, *Apvā*, to confuse their minds, to seize their limbs; attack them; burn them with thy heat in their hearts; let the foe fall into deep darkness.' Such spells might be accompanied by magical acts, such as letting loose a white-footed ewe, in which the power of disease was supposed to be embodied, against the hostile army.

Evil spirits are thought to be everywhere—in the sea, in the air, but most of all in human dwellings; otherwise they especially infest the place where four roads meet. The time of their activity is chiefly evening and night; at night they seek to kill the sacrificer who has undergone consecration (*dikṣā*). But they are particularly active during the night of new moon. Their usual mode of attack (mentioned in both the Rigveda (viii. xlix. 20) and the Atharvaveda (v. xxix. 6-8, vii. lxxvi. 4)) is to enter into a man, especially through the mouth; they then eat his flesh, suck his marrow, drink his blood, and create disease of every kind; they also cause madness and take away the power of speech. They are chiefly dangerous on the most important occasions of domestic life—at births, weddings, and funerals. One of the main objects of their attack is the sacrificer: the Rigveda speaks (vii. civ. 21) of the *Yātus* that seize the sacrificial food, and the Atharvaveda contains (vii. lxx. 1 f.) the spell of a magician desiring to destroy the sacrificer of an enemy through the wiles of a demon. Hence the sacrificial ceremonial is, from beginning to end, accompanied by formulae directed to defence against demons. These evil spirits, moreover, do harm to man's property, drinking the milk of his cows, eating the flesh of his horses, and damaging his dwellings. In short, every moment of life, every act, every possession is assailed by hosts of invisible foes, the allies of human workers of calamity.

(b) **Injurious substances.**—Closely allied to these demoniac enemies are the numerous substances—the most general expression for which in the Vedic language is *tanū*, or 'body'—which, conceived chiefly as impersonal, though sometimes still tinged with personality, perhaps represent an advance of thought. Hence the boundary-line between personal demons and impersonal agencies is not fixed; thus the term *pāpman*, 'evil power,' as a masculine is used in the former, as a neuter in the latter sense. Nor are even injurious creatures like snakes, ants, and worms clearly distinguished from evil spirits, being often spoken of as demons to be driven away. Examples of impalpable agencies are the 'substance' of disease, of hunger and thirst, of guilt, even of such abstractions as sonlessness; or the intangible influence proceeding from auspicious or baneful stars and from the waning or waxing of the moon. These are supposed to fly about in the air and to affect man by various forms of contact. The sphere of magical operations is greatly extended by the belief that, if a 'substance' or power is embodied in any creature or object—e.g., irresistible strength in a tiger—that power is inherent in all its parts and in all that is connected with it. Such a power, therefore, resides not only in the flesh of an animal, but in its skin, horn, hair, and so on. Again, the essence of water dwells in aquatic plants like the *avaśā* (*Blyxa octandra*), and in aquatic animals like the frog; the nature of the boar is present in the soil

that is torn up by its tusks; the force of lightning is latent in a splint of wood from a tree that has been struck; the virtue of one's native land exists in a clod taken from it; a man is connected with the earth by his footprints; even an image or a name is conceived as containing a part of the essence of the beings or things which they represent or name. As all such powers are communicable by contact, the whole sacrificial ritual is full of rules as to the persons or things which the performers are to touch, for thus the beneficial power of the sacrifice is transferred to them. For instance, the skins of various animals communicate the characteristic quality attributed to them: one who seats himself on the hide of a bull acquires fertility; on that of a black antelope, sanctity; on that of a he-goat, plenty; on that of a tiger, invincible power.

9. *Magical procedure.*—The operations of magic are mainly directed against hostile agencies, either by preventing their contact with the operator or by bringing about their contact with an enemy. Auspicious rites, besides being much less numerous, are often only another aspect of offensive magic, and will, therefore, be treated under the various types of action, partly auspicious and partly hostile, employed in magical ceremonies (§ 12).

10. *Defensive magic.*—This type of magic, though consisting in warding off injurious powers, is not always expressed in the form of hostility when demons are concerned; it may then be attended by a certain amount of propitiation. Thus in the *Atharvaveda* (I. xii. 2) deterrent homage is paid to a demon of disease: 'Thee, lurking in each limb with burning, we, paying homage, would worship with oblation'; lightning is similarly addressed (I. xiii. 2): 'Homage to thee, child of the height, whence thou gatherest heat; be merciful to ourselves; do kindness to our offspring'; also instruments and ministers of death: 'To those weapons of thine, O Death, be homage; homage to thy benediction, homage to thy malediction; homage to thy favour, O Death; this homage to thy disfavour' (VI. xiii. 1. 2). Again, sacrifices to demons are often mentioned (*Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, II. i. 32); and in the general sacrificial cult they receive their share, which, however, consists only of inferior offerings, such as blood and offal. Hostile words or actions are often accompanied by spells expressive of homage. *Hiranyaketin Grhyasūtra* contains a direction (I. xvi. 20f.) that a brand burning at both ends should be thrown at a jackal (regarded as possessed by the evil powers of death), and that the animal should at the same time be worshipped with the Vedic verse, 'Thou art mighty, thou carriest away.' In a rite concerned with serpents the reptiles are addressed with homage, while the intention to destroy them is also expressed (*Sarpabali*, xi.). A ceremonial intended to ward off ants (*Kaṣṭhika Sūtra*, cxvi.) begins with propitiatory offerings and spells; but, if these fail, they are followed with a poisoned oblation surrounded by symbols of hostility and accompanied by an invocation of the gods to destroy their eggs and progeny. Propitiation, however, plays but a very subordinate part in this type of magic.

i. *PREVENTIVE MAGIC.*—On the principle that prevention is better than cure the procedure of defensive magic is largely prophylactic, everything being avoided that might attract injurious powers. The precautions taken are of the following kinds.

(1) *Avoidance of contact.*—The touch of beings in which maleficent spirits or substances were supposed to dwell was eschewed. Thus to touch the mother during the ten days of impurity after childbirth was regarded as dangerous; and the stones used in erecting an altar for *Nirṛti*, the

goddess of dissolution, were put in their place without being directly handled. The access of injurious powers through other senses was similarly avoided. Thus listening to impure sounds involved risk. Precautions were taken not to see impure or dangerous persons or things; the sight of offerings to the dead or to the uncanny god *Rudra* was to be avoided; and those who were departing from a place where inauspicious ceremonies had been performed, such as those concerned with the dead, with demons, with the goddess *Nirṛti* or the god *Rudra*, abstained from looking back. On occasions when evil spirits were likely to be in the neighbourhood care was taken to prevent their coming too near. Thus a bundle of twigs was tied to the corpse on the way to the burning ground in order to efface the footsteps and so hide the path from the demons; and the sacrificial fire of the departed, having by his decease become a seat of death-bringing powers, was removed by some aperture other than the door.

(2) *Fasting.*—One of the chief precautionary measures against the attacks of hostile powers was abstinence from food, in order to prevent them from entering the body. It is, therefore, a leading element in the preliminary consecration (*dikṣā*) for the Soma sacrifice. With reference to this, one of the *Sūtras* remarks (*Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*, X. xiv. 9): 'When an initiated man (*dīkṣita*) grows thin, he becomes purified for the sacrifice.' A special form of fasting was the avoidance of particular kinds of food. Thus the performer of the new and full moon sacrifice had, on the eve of the ceremony, to refrain from eating either flesh or the kind of food which he was going to offer on the following day. The teacher who has invested a pupil with the sacred cord may not eat flesh for a night and a day; while the student himself has to refrain from eating salted food and drinking milk for three days after the ceremony; he must also abstain from food altogether for three days, or a day and a night, before he enters upon a particularly holy part of his Vedic course. A newly married couple must, during the first three nights following the wedding ceremony, avoid all salted or pungent food. The efficacy of fasting is illustrated by the precept (*Gobhila Grhyasūtra*, IV. vi. 13) that one who desires to gain a hundred cart-loads of gold should observe the vow of fasting during one fortnight.

(3) *Abstinence.*—Another safeguard is the practice of chastity. This is enjoined for three nights after the wedding ceremony in order to ward off the attacks of demons that destroy offspring. It is observed by the performer of the new and full moon sacrifice on the night before the rite takes place; for a day and a night by the teacher who initiates a pupil; for twelve nights by the offerer of the Sabali sacrifice; during the course of the *Dikṣā* by him who undergoes that consecration; and by the Vedic student during the whole period of his apprenticeship.

(4) *Asceticism.*—This expedient appears in various forms. One of them is exposure to heat; it is an element in the *Dikṣā* ceremony, a special formula being quoted for use when the initiated man breaks into perspiration. Sleeping on the ground is prescribed, during the same length of time as abstinence for the newly married couple, the Vedic student, and the performers of the *Dikṣā* consecration, of the new and full moon ceremony, and of the Sabali sacrifice. As a safeguard against demons dangerous to the sleeper, watching through the night is enjoined during the *Dikṣā* ceremony, and on the eve of setting up the sacrificial fires and of the new and full moon sacrifice. Silence is to be observed by the sacrificer undergoing the *Dikṣā* consecration, by the man about to set up the three



sacrificial fire, and by the Vedic student on various occasions. Holding the breath, which was regarded as an important form of asceticism, appears, for instance, in a rite during the funeral ceremony. It may here be added that austerities of various kinds had to be undergone by one preparing to cure epilepsy, before he was qualified to perform the magical ceremonies intended to effect the recovery of the patient.

(5) *Concealment*.—Another means of guarding against the attacks of hostile powers was concealment of one's person or of its parts, as seclusion in a shed and covering the head during the observances of the *Dikṣā* ceremony; or putting on garments to make oneself unrecognizable; or hiding the hair of the head and beard or nails cut off at sacramental rites, such as the initiation of the Vedic student (cf. § 8 (b)).

(6) *Amulets*.—Charms worn on the body were frequently employed both for the negative purpose of warding off evil influences from one's person (amulets) and for the positive purpose of attracting prosperity (talismans). Sometimes the same charm serves both purposes; thus the pearl destroys demons, disease, and poverty, and at the same time bestows welfare and long life. Amulets were for the most part made of wood, but also of various other substances. Their efficacy is regarded as dependent on the particular power of repulsion inherent in them, and is not infrequently spoken of as imparted by the gods. They are called god-born, are said to have been given by gods to men, to have been strengthened by the gods, or to have had their power communicated to them by the gods, who co-operate with them; the gods themselves are described as having once been successful by the power residing in them; by amulets Indra overcame the demons (Atharvaveda, x. iii. 11). Their potency sometimes emanates from their names. An amulet derived from the *varāṇa* tree (*Crataeva Roxburghii*) destroys enemies because, according to the meaning attributed to the name (*id.* x. iii. 5), it drives off (*vārayati*). An amulet made of this wood is thus addressed in the Atharvaveda (x. iii. 14, 11): 'As the wind and the fire consume the trees, the lords of the forest, so do thou consume my rivals; this *varāṇa* upon my breast, the kingly, divine tree, shall smite asunder my foes, as Indra the demons.' One of the amulets most frequently mentioned in the Atharvaveda is that made from the *jāṅgīḍa* tree, which protects from diseases and demons. Again, a long hymn of the same Veda (viii. v.) dwells on the aggressive powers of an amulet fashioned from the wood of the *śrakṣya* tree, which destroys foes, demons, and sorceries. Cf., further, art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Vedio).

ii. *REMEDIAL MAGIC*.—Magical operations are performed not only to ward off maleficent powers that are threatening, but also to expel them after they have taken possession of their victim in the form of diseases or ailments. The Atharvaveda is full of spells directed against these. Many such incantations make no mention of any concrete remedies with which their use was accompanied; but the evidence of the *Sūtras* shows that these incantations, at least very often, formed part of a magical rite in which concrete remedies were an element. Examples of simple spells for the cure of diseases are the following: 'As the rays of the sun swiftly fly to a distance, thus do thou, O cough, fly forth along the flood of the sea' (vi. cv. 3); and 'The disease that racks and wastes thy limbs, and the sickness in thy heart, has flown as an eagle to the far distance, overcome by my charm' (v. xxx. 9). Curative spells are, however, more usually accompanied by the express employment of material objects, chiefly plants. The hymns of the Atharva-

veda abound in references to such remedies. These represent the earliest beginnings of medical lore in India. The border-line between magic and primitive science here is not always definite, for in some cases the plant used with the spell may have been an actual cure for a particular disease, while in other cases its application was purely magical, as that of the herbs used to promote the growth of hair on bald heads (these were doubtless as ineffective as the hair-restorers of modern times). The following are two charms from the Atharvaveda intended for this particular cure: 'That hair of thine which drops off, and that which is broken root and all, upon it do I sprinkle the all-healing herb' (vi. cxxxvi. 3); 'Make firm their roots, draw out their ends, expand their middle, O herb! may thy hairs grow as reeds, may they cluster black about thy head!' (vi. cxxxvii. 3). The Atharvaveda contains many spells in which the *kṛṣṭha* plant (probably *Costus speciosus* or *arabicus*) is invoked to drive out fever; two of its hymns (i. xliii. f.) are meant to cure leprosy by the use of a dark plant; one (vii. lvi.) operates with a herb that destroys snake poison, and another (vi. xvi.) with a plant against ophthalmia. Fractures are cured by the plant *arundhatī* (iv. xii.), and wounds by the use of the peppercorn (vi. cix.). The use of ointment is associated with one hymn of the Atharvaveda (iv. ix.), of which this is one of the spells: 'From him over whose every limb and every joint thou passest, O salve, thou dost, as a mighty interceptor, drive away disease.' Water not infrequently appears as a magical remedy, and its general curative powers are thus expressed by the following spell of the Atharvaveda (vi. lxi. 3): 'The waters verily are healing, the waters chase away disease, the waters cure all ailments; may they prepare a remedy for thee.' It also cures individual diseases, as excessive bodily discharges: 'The spring water yonder which runs down from the mountains, that do I render healing for thee, in order that thou mayest contain a potent remedy' (ii. iii. 1); or heart-disease: 'From the Himavat mountains they flow forth, in the Indus is their gathering place: may the waters, indeed, grant me that cure for heart-ache' (vi. xxiv. 1). *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* (iii. vi. 2) describes how water is used in a magic operation for the cure of headache: the performer moistened his hands and passed them over the eyebrows of the sufferer with the spell: 'From the eyes, from the ears, from the whiskers, from the chin, from the forehead I drive away this disease of the head.' Another remedy is the horn of an antelope, used against a hereditary disease named *kṣetriya*: 'Upon the head of the nimble antelope a remedy grows! He has driven the *kṣetriya* in all directions by means of the horn' (Atharvaveda, iii. vii. 1).

ii. *Offensive magic*.—Aggressive operations against maleficent powers cannot always be distinguished, especially in regard to demons, from that form of defensive magic which is directed to warding off their attacks. Hence the expedients adopted are to some extent the same for both purposes.

i. *MEANS EMPLOYED*.—(1) *Fire*.—Fire was one of the chief direct means of driving away demons and all hostile sorcery. Thus in the Rigveda Agni, the god of fire, is frequently invoked (i. xii. 5, xxxvi. 20) with such verses as: 'Burn, O Agni, against the sorcerers; always burn down the sorcerers and the allies of the demons.' This use of fire, probably the earliest in cult, though overlaid with its later and much more extensive sacrificial application, still survives in the Vedic ritual. Thus a special fire called the 'lying-in fire' (*sūtikāgni*) is introduced into the lying-in chamber (*sūtikā-grha*). Of this fire the author of one of the domestic *Sūtras* remarks (*Hiranyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra*, ii. iii. 6f.):

'Sacred rites, except fumigation, are not performed with it; he fumigates the child with small grains mixed with mustard seeds'; he then adds a number of spells to drive away various demons that prowl through the village at night, that drink out of skulls; Agni is invoked to burn their lungs, hearts, livers, and eyes. At the sacramental ceremony of cutting the child's hair a fire is kindled while a number of auspicious verses are recited; as nothing is said of its application to sacrificial purposes, it was presumably meant to ward off demons. Of similar significance were the fire employed at the investiture of the Brāhman student, behind which both he and his teacher step, and that kindled when the pupil entered upon his course of Vedic study. That this was the significance of the fire beside which the Soma sacrificer watched during the night in the Dikṣā ceremony is certain, because it is expressly said (*Taittiriya Saṃhitā*, VI. i. 4. 6) that Agni is here appointed 'for the destruction of the demons.' It can hardly be doubted that in the great sacrificial ritual of the three fires the southern fire was understood to have the magical power of dispelling demons, for the south is the direction from which the souls of the dead and the injurious spirits allied to them approach. In the funeral ritual a brand was taken from the southern fire and laid down pointing to the south, while a formula was pronounced in which Agni was invoked to drive away all demons that, assuming manifold forms, might venture near. At the conclusion of the funeral ceremony a fire was used by the survivors for the purpose of warding off the powers that cause death. Fire was also on various occasions carried round what was to be protected against the attacks of evil spirits. Thus a brand lighted at both ends was moved round the funeral offering; and a firebrand was also borne by the priest round the victim, the post, and other accessories of the animal sacrifice.

(2) *Water*.—Water is another efficacious means of repelling hostile agencies, as is indicated by the statement (*Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā*, IV. viii. 5) that 'the demons do not cross the waters.' We have already noted some examples of the use of water in curing diseases and ailments. Water is further regarded as a chief means of removing possession by evil spirits. At the birth ceremony water is supposed to wash away all injurious powers from the new-born child. A purifying bath is prescribed before entering on various ceremonies, as the Dikṣā, to remove supernatural substances that might be inimical to their success. Thus the bride and bridegroom take a bath or perform ablutions before the wedding ceremony. In rites of expiation especially, bathing and washing play an important part. Various ceremonies also conclude with a bath in order to obviate the risk of taking back into ordinary life the magical influence inherent in the rite. Such is the case at the end of the Dikṣā, when clothes and implements used during the ceremony are also laid aside. The significance of the bath taken by the Brāhman student at the end of his apprenticeship is similar. There is, further, a rule that after the utterance of spells addressed to uncanny beings, such as the dead, demons, or Rudra, one should purify oneself with water from the contact with those beings which has thus been incurred. The urine of cows was specially esteemed as a means of purification, being perhaps at the same time regarded as communicating the abundant nutritive power inherent in the animal. As long as a magical condition is meant to continue, bathing or washing is avoided; hence dirt is the characteristic of one who, by means of asceticism (*tapas*), aims at acquiring special magical power.

(3) *Plants*.—We have already seen that plants were frequently used along with spells as a magical

cure of disease. Cognate to this medicinal employment is the application of herbs to the purpose of securing the love of a man or a woman, and of promoting or destroying virility; of both these classes of charms the Atharvaveda contains many examples. But they are also resorted to for other objects. Thus some are employed against demons and sorcerers, others to counteract curses, and several are associated with battle-charms. Aquatic plants, together with frogs, as representing water, are combined with spells to quench fire. Bdellium (*guggulu*), the fragrant exudation of a tree, frequently occurs in the ritual as, by its odour, driving away demons of disease or frustrating a curse.

(4) *Stones, etc.*—In the wedding ceremony, as we have seen, the bride stepped on a stone to ensure steadfastness. A stone, as representing a dividing mountain, was regarded as a means of keeping off evil spirits, and with this intention it was employed in the funeral ritual to separate the living from the dead, where also a clod of earth taken from a boundary was similarly used. In the same ceremony a mat was laid down while the formula, 'This is put between against calamity,' was pronounced (*Kaṭhika Sūtra*, lxxxvi. 14). A wooden fence was placed round the sacrificial fire, the purpose being 'to strike away the demons' (*Taittiriya Saṃhitā*, II. vi. 6. 2).

(5) *Lead*.—This metal was frequently employed in magical operations, as, e.g., in wiping off dangerous substances. The Atharvaveda contains a hymn (I. xvi.) in which lead was used against demons and sorcerers, this being one of its spells: 'If thou slayest our cow, if our horse or our domestic, we pierce thee with lead, so that thou shalt not slay our heroes.'

(6) *Weapons and staves*.—These appear on various occasions as a protection against demons. Thus a man who woos a bride is accompanied by one armed with a bow and arrows. At the wedding ceremony little staves are shot into the air, with the formula: 'I pierce the eye of the demons that prowl around the bride who approaches the fire' (*Mānava Gṛhyasūtra*, I. x.). At the royal inauguration the priest beats the king with a staff, saying, 'We beat evil away from thee' (*Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*, xv. vii. 6). The staff is a part of the ritual equipment in the Dikṣā ceremony, its significance here being explained by the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (III. ii. 1. 32) thus: 'The staff is a thunder-bolt to drive away the demons.' The Vedic student, as peculiarly liable to the attacks of evil spirits, is provided with a staff at the rite of investiture. This he must always carry, never allowing any one to pass between it and himself; he parts with it only at the end of his apprenticeship, when he casts it away into water, along with his girdle and other sacred objects. On entering the next stage of religious life the Brāhman receives a new staff made of a different wood, the purpose of which is sufficiently expressed by the spells employed at the accompanying rite: 'Protect me from all powers of destruction on all sides,' and 'Destroy all hosts of enemies on every side' (*Hiranyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra*, I. xi. 8). A wooden implement shaped like a sword, technically called *sphya*, and very variously applied in sacrificial rites, has evidently the significance of a demon-repelling weapon. At the sacrifice to the dead the *sphya* is passed over the altar with the words, 'Smitten away are the devils and demons that sit on the altar' (*Sāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, IV. iv. 2).

ii. *MAGICAL ACTION*.—Certain types of action are regarded as producing a magical effect in various rites. They may be grouped as follows.

(a) *Hostile*.—(1) To make a noise is believed to be an efficacious means of driving away demons. At the solstitial festival drums were beaten in order to scare evil spirits, which were deemed to

be especially powerful at the time of the shortest day. A gong was sounded at the ritual for exorcizing the demon of epilepsy. At the funeral ceremony a din was produced by shattering pots.

(2) A frequent method of removing injurious influences is to *wipe* them off. Thus lead or a black thread of wool was used as an aid in the process. In particular, the *apāmārga* (*Achyranthes aspera*) plant (popularly interpreted to mean 'wiping out') was most variously employed in this sense. The Atharvaveda contains several hymns with which the plant is applied, the following being one of the spells in which this action is expressed (IV. xviii. 8): 'Having wiped out all sorcerers, and all grudging demons, with thee, O Apāmārga, we wipe all that evil out.' The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* remarks (V. ii. 4. 14) that by the aid of this plant the gods wiped away fiends and demons. Among other magical applications of this action may be noted the requirement that one who has seen an evil dream should wipe his face.

(3) Another means of getting rid of demons or injurious powers is to *shake, cast, or strip* them off. The black antelope skin used at a sacrifice is shaken out with the words, 'Shaken away is the demon; shaken away are the goblins' (*Vajasaneyi Samhitā*, I. 14). After feeding the souls of the dead, the officiant shakes the hem of his garment in order to remove the souls that may be clinging to it. At the conclusion of the funeral ceremony, the bundle of twigs, used to efface the footsteps of death, is thrown away for fear of the dangerous substance which it may have derived from those footprints. For similar reasons clothes worn at uncanny rites, such as funerals, are cast aside. Injurious substances are deemed to be stripped off by passing through some aperture the person to whom they adhere. This notion is found even in the Rigveda (VIII. lxxx. 7), where Indra is said to have cured the girl Apālā, who suffered from skin disease, by drawing her through an opening in a car. It is doubtless a survival of this form of purification when, in the wedding ceremony, the aperture of the yoke of a car is placed on the head of the bride.

The removal of injurious substances is not always a mere riddance, but is often also a transference to remote places or to other objects animate or inanimate. The Rigveda and the Atharvaveda contain several formulae or spells to relegate evil agencies to particular places or persons in the far distance. Thus hostile magic is expelled beyond the ninety streams (Atharvaveda, VIII. v. 9, x. i. 16); the disease Takman (a sort of fever) is sent away to far-off peoples, such as the Gandharians and the Magadhas (B. v. xxii. 14); evil deed and evil dream are banished to the divine being Trita Aptya in the remotest distance (Rigveda, VIII. xlvii. 13-17). Injurious agencies are also transferred to others at particularly uncanny spots, especially cross-roads. A garment containing certain impurities is removed to a forest, suspended from a tree, or hung over a post, to which its dangerous influence is conveyed, and thus rendered innocuous (Atharvaveda, XIV. ii. 49f.). Snake-poison is removed to a firebrand, which, being then thrown at a snake, returns the danger to its source (*Kaushika Sūtra*, xxix. 6). Fever is transferred to a frog as an antidote representing water (Atharvaveda, VII. cxvi. 2); while jaundice is conducted in a homeopathic manner to a yellow bird (B. I. xxii. 4).

(b) *Auspicious*.—(1) A very prominent part is played by *eating* in the communication of beneficial influences; contact with injurious substances, which would, of course, be equally well effected by eating, is avoided by fasting (cf. § 10. i. (2)). The Vedic ritual contains innumerable examples of the magical power conveyed by the eating of sacrificial food. The eating of the food is regarded as communicating the blessing embodied in it; and in the most various forms the view appears that the sacrificial substance conveys the special kind of power implied in a particular sacrifice. Thus, when the religious teacher initiates his pupil, he gives him the remnant of the offering with the formula, 'May Agni place his wisdom in thee.' On the occasion of the ploughing festival a mixture of the milk of a cow that has a calf of the

same colour and dung, bdellium, and salt is eaten. At the ceremony for the obtaining of male offspring the wife has to eat a barleycorn and two grains of mustard seed (or two beans), one of which has been laid on each side of it (as symbolizing a male being). The act of two or more persons eating together establishes a community between them; at the wedding ceremonial the bride and the bridegroom eat together, and at the royal inauguration the king and the priest.

Based on the idea that an animal, when eaten, communicates its special characteristics to the eater is the correspondence in sex, colour, and other qualities between the victim and the god to whom it is offered. To Indra a bull or (less often) a buffalo, to which he is often compared, is sacrificed; to the *Asvins*, twin gods of the morning, a reddish he-goat, for 'of reddish colour, as it were, are the *Asvins*' (*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V. v. 4. 1); to the goddess *Sarasvatī* a ewe of certain qualities; to Agni, with his column of dark smoke, a he-goat with a black throat; to the Sun and to Yama (god of death), two he-goats, one white, the other black. A cognate magical correspondence appears in the offering of a black victim in a rite for the obtaining of rain: 'It is black, for this is the nature of rain; with that which is its nature he wins rain' (*Taittiriya Samhitā*, II. i. 8. 5). When the destruction of enemies is intended, a blood-red victim is offered by priests dressed in red and wearing red turbans.

(2) There are several ceremonies in which *anointing* is applied for the attainment of auspicious ends. In the *Dikṣā* rite the sacrificer is anointed with fresh butter to give him unimpaired vigour and sound sight. In the animal sacrifice the stake is anointed with clarified butter for the purpose of bringing blessings to the sacrificer. At the royal inauguration the king is anointed with a mixture of butter, honey, rain-water, and other ingredients, which communicate to him the powers and abundance inherent in them. At the same ceremony the king anoints himself with the fluid contained in the horn of a black antelope and refrains for a year from cutting his hair, which has been moistened by it. At the *Sautrāmanī* rite, an expiatory part of the Soma sacrifice, the priest consecrates the king by sprinkling him with the fat gravy of the sacrificial animals: 'With the essence of cattle, with the highest kind of food, he thus sprinkles him' (*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XII. viii. 3. 12).

(3) *Charms*, made for the most part of wood, but also of other materials, were frequently attached to parts of the body for various auspicious purposes. A talisman made of wood from the *parjā*-tree (*Butea frondosa*) was worn in order to strengthen royal power (Atharvaveda, III. v.); a bridegroom, while reciting a hymn of the Atharvaveda, fastened to his little finger, by means of a thread coloured with lac, a talisman made of liquorice wood to secure the love of his bride (*Kaushika Sūtra*, lxxvi. 8 f.); at the full moon ceremony the sacrificer tied on his person talismans made of lac, together with all sorts of herbs, for the attainment of prosperity; while sowing seed, the husbandman put on a talisman of barley. The Vedic student who, at the conclusion of his apprenticeship, has taken the purifying bath ties a pellet of *badara* (*Zizyphus jujuba*) wood to his left hand and fastens a pellet of gold to his neck; he then attaches two earrings to the skirt of his garment, and finally inserts them in his ears. A talisman of gold secures long life: 'He who wears it dies of old age,' in the words of the Atharvaveda (XIX. xxvi. 1). To ensure conception a woman puts on a bracelet with the spell, 'An acquirer of offspring and wealth this bracelet has become' (VI. lxxxi. 1).

(c) *Indifferent*.—(1) *Burying* was a frequent secret method of conducting magical substances to others, generally with hostile intent. The Atharvaveda is full of spells expressing fear of magic buried in sacrificial straw, or fields, or wells, or cemeteries. Objects belonging to a woman who is to be injured—a garland, hair, a twig for cleaning the teeth—together with other things productive of misfortune are placed between three stones

in a mortar (a symbol of crushing) and buried. The luck of a person thus attacked might be restored by digging up the objects, while an auspicious spell was uttered. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* relates (III. v. 4. 2 f.) a myth how the demons buried charms in order to overcome the gods; but the latter, by digging them up, made them inoperative. The Soma sacrifice even contains a ceremony the express purpose of which is to dig up the magical objects buried by rivals or enemies. This idea of burying things sometimes has an auspicious intention, as when a mixture of milk, dung, bdellium, and salt is buried in order to promote the welfare of cattle (*Kaṭika Sūtra*, xix. 19).

(2) The action of *looking* at an object may be either beneficial or injurious. It has the former effect, e.g., when the sacrificer says (*Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, v. 34) to the priest, 'Look at me with the eye of Mitra' (the sun-god); or when a guest addresses the sweet food that is offered to him, saying, 'With Mitra's eye I regard thee' (*Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra*, I. xxiv. 14). But the evil eye (*q.v.*), e.g. of the serpent, brings disaster on him towards whom it is directed. At the wedding ceremony the bridegroom secures himself against the evil eye of the bride by anointing her eyes and saying, 'Look not with an evil eye, bring not death to thy husband' (*Parāskara Grhyasūtra*, I. 4; *Sāṅkhāyana Grhyasūtra*, I. 16). In the *Atharvaveda* (IV. ix. 6) ointment is conjured against the evil eye with the spell, 'From the evil eye of the enemy protect us, O salve'; the *jaṅgīḍa*-tree is invoked against the evil eye of the hostile-minded (XIX. xxxv. 3); and a certain plant is employed with the spell, 'Of the enemy who bewitches with his eye we hew off the ribs' (II. vii. 5; cf. XIX. xlv. 1). On the other hand, the evil effect produced by an inauspicious object on him who sees it is shown by innumerable directions enjoining avoidance of such sights. Thus the Vedic student who, at the conclusion of his apprenticeship, has taken his purifying bath must not look at an enemy, a malefactor, a corpse-bearer, or ordure. For similar reasons, one returning to the sacrificial ground should not look round after performing an inauspicious ceremony, such as an offering to the goddess Nirṛti or a rite for the slaughter of demons.

(3) The action of *circumambulation*, which occurs very frequently in the Vedic ceremonial, is regarded as having a magically auspicious effect when the performer walks round an object in sunwise fashion by keeping his right hand towards it (*pradakṣiṇā*). Both living and inanimate things are three times circumambulated in this manner; e.g., priests thus walk round other priests or the victim, and the wives of the king walk round the dead sacrificial horse. Sacrificial altars and temples, the ground where a house is built, as well as houses (as a protection against serpents), are circumambulated. This rite is especially often performed with the sacrificial fire, as at the wedding ceremony and at the initiation of the Vedic student. Water is circumambulated at a wedding, as also a new house, while water is at the same time sprinkled round it. When the ceremony is inauspicious, the direction is reversed, the left hand being kept towards the object. This is done especially in funeral rites at the burying ground and at cross-roads. Thus the mourners walk three times round the unlucky fire deposited where four roads meet, with their left sides towards it, beating their left thighs with their left hands. When a patient is to be cured of snake-bite, the priest walks round him to the left. When a servant who is disposed to run away is asleep, his master, making water into the horn of a living animal, walks three times round him to the left, sprinkling the water round him with the spell, 'From the mountain on which thou wast

born, from thy mother, from thy sister, from thy parents, and thy brother, from thy friends I sever thee' (*Parāskara Grhyasūtra*, III. vii. 2). Movement both in the auspicious and in the reverse direction is not restricted to walking. Thus in the sacrifice to the dead the officiant grasps a water jar with his left hand and pours out its contents from right to left; he also holds the ladle in his left and deposits the offering on the grass in the same direction (cf., further, art. CIRCUMAMBULATION).

12. *Sympathetic magic*.—A special type of magic is that which has been called 'sympathetic,' being the influence exercised on a remote being or phenomenon by means of a telepathic connexion between it and what is manipulated by the magician. It may be either beneficent or injurious.

(a) *Effigies*.—An image is frequently made and operated on for the purpose of producing a similar effect on the victim. Thus an enemy is destroyed by piercing the heart of his clay effigy with an arrow, or by transfixing his shadow. His death is also produced by melting a wax figure of him over the fire, or by killing or burning a chameleon as representing him. The elephants, horses, soldiers, and chariots of a hostile army are imitated in dough, and sacrificed piece by piece so as to bring about its destruction. The magician annihilates worms by stamping on or burning twenty-one roots of the *uśīra* plant, while he pronounces the spell, 'I split with the stone the head of all worms male and female; I burn their faces with fire' (*Atharvaveda*, V. xxiii. 13). In order to exterminate the field vermin called *tarda*, a single *tarda*, as representing the whole class, is buried head downwards, its mouth being tied with a hair so as to prevent its eating grain (*Kaṭika Sūtra*, I. 19). With a view to smashing the limbs of evil spirits pegs are driven into the ground. One who pounds the Soma-shoots for sacrifice directs the blows against his enemy by fixing his thoughts on him during the operation.

The sympathetic connexion is sometimes very remote, as when implements or materials are used in which a particular power is regarded as inherent. Thus an exiled prince receives food rendered magical by being cooked with wood that has grown from the stump of a tree, symbolising the restoration of fallen fortunes. At a ceremony for the removal of troublesome ants a sacrificial ladle of *biddhaka* wood is employed simply because the name of the tree means 'remover.' At a rite to destroy demons the dipping spoon is made of wood from the *palāśa* (*Butea frondosa*) tree as representing the magical spell (*brahman*), which is a slayer of demons. When the sacrifice for the restoration of an exiled prince is performed, earth and other material from his native country are employed. At a sacrifice for victory in battle, soil torn up by a boar is taken for the altar (*vedi*), with a view to communicating the fierceness of that animal to the combatants on behalf of whom the offering is made.

(b) *Imitative processes*.—The higher cult concerned with the three sacrificial fires abounds with rites in which the desired effect is produced by an imitation of the event or phenomenon. Thus the kindling of the sacrificial fire in the morning develops into a magical rite to make the sun rise; and the dripping of the Soma-juice through the purifying sieve becomes a rain charm. At the ceremony of the royal inauguration, the conventional chariot race in which the king wins is meant to gain for him speed and victorious might. On various occasions in the ritual a game of dice is played; this has clearly the magical purpose of securing luck and gain for the sacrificer. At the solstitial ceremony an Aryan and a Śūdra (representing a white and a black man) engage in a struggle for the possession of a circular white skin, the former ultimately wresting it from the latter; the magical aim of this performance is the liberation of the sun from the powers of darkness. In the same ceremony, as well as at the Soma and the horse sacrifice, there are certain sexual observances the obvious purpose of which is to produce fertility in women. A good example of the imitative method is the procedure

meant to deflect a river into another channel. The new course is first watered; it is then planted with reeds; and, finally, representatives of water, such as a frog and the aquatic plant *avakā*, are deposited on it; the imitation is believed to produce the reality.

(1) This type of magic is very frequently found in the particular form of *rain-making*. Such is the purpose when, at the solstitial festival, a cowhide is pierced with arrows—probably an imitation of the myth of Indra's release of the waters by piercing the rain-clouds (which frequently appear as cows in the Rigveda). On the same occasion girls dance round a fire with jars full of water which they pour out, while they sing a song calling upon the cows to bathe. At the ceremony of piling the fire-altar jars of water are emptied on the ground, on which rain is thus said to be shed, and grain is sown on the spot. When an otter is thrown into the water, rain falls in abundance; or, if any one desires rain, he casts herbs into the water, submerges them, and then lets them float away.

(2) A modified form of sympathetic magic is *divination*, the aim of which is to find out what is hidden or future, largely from the occult correspondence between the representation and the reality. Dreams and sacrificial and funeral rites are the most significant representations; these can be interpreted by spiritual persons who possess inner illumination, strengthened by the power of asceticism and other magical means. From the direction taken by a cow at a particular point in the ritual it may be inferred that the sacrificer will attain his purpose. If at a certain sacrifice the fire flames up brightly, the sacrificer will obtain twelve villages; if the smoke rises, he will obtain at least three. The fire kindled in a special way between two armies about to fight prognosticates the result of the battle by the direction of the smoke. The observer who, at a funeral, notes which of the three sacred fires catches the corpse first can tell whether the soul of the deceased is in heaven, in air, or on earth.

The following examples of divination are of a more general type. If one wishes to know whether an unborn child will be a male, the son of a Brāhman must touch a member of the mother; supposing the member has a masculine name, the child will be a boy. When it is desired to ascertain whether a girl will make a good wife, she is bidden to choose between various clods taken partly from auspicious soil (as that of a furrow or a cowshed), partly from an unlucky spot (as a cemetery or cross-roads); her choice betokens her character and her future. A special form of prognostication is the foretelling of weather by old Brāhmins from the smoke of dung.

Mixed with the knowledge of the future obtainable from a symbolic process is that derived from gods or spirits, by interpreting the movement, the flight, or the cry of animals or birds specially connected with gods or spirits, such as the wolf and hyæna, the owl, crow, pigeon, and vulture. Thus, in one of the two hymns of the Rigveda concerned with augury, the bird crying in the region of the Fathers (the south) is invoked to bring auspicious tidings (II. xlii. 2). Again, in one of the Sūtras, the owl 'that flies to the abode of the gods' is addressed with the words, 'Flying round the village from left to right, portend to us luck by thy cry, O owl' (*Hiranyakeśin Grhyasūtra*, I. xvii. 1. 3). The direction from which the wooer will come is indicated by the flight of crows after the performance of the rite for obtaining a husband for a girl. Such omens seem to be a later development, resulting from the simplification of the symbolical method of divination by isolating a single feature of a complex process.

13. Oral magic.—Magical formulae are usually

accompanied by some ritual act; but the spoken word in the form of a spell, a curse, or an oath also has a magical effect by itself.

(a) *The spell*.—The spell has generally a metrical form, being sometimes an old religious verse degraded to magical use. Though the formula is magical in application, it is in form often a mixture of prayer and spell, the gods being mentioned or invoked in it; e.g., 'Between the two rows of Agni Vaiśvānara's teeth do I place him that plans to injure us when we are not planning to injure him' (*Atharvaveda*, IV. xxxvi. 2; cf. XVI. vii. 3); 'Thy ninety-nine spirits, O Night, shall help and protect us' (XIX. xlvii. 3-5). It is, indeed, characteristic of the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* to contain the names of numerous deities, while the panegyrics of the *Rigveda* are addressed to one only; e.g., 'Heaven and Earth have anointed me; Mitra has anointed me here; may Brhaspati anoint me; may Savitr anoint me' (VII. xxx. 1). The magician very usually threatens or commands in his own person; e.g., 'I plague the demons as the tiger the cattle-owners; as dogs that have seen a lion, they find not a refuge' (IV. xxxvi. 6); 'As the lightning ever irresistibly smites the tree, so would I to-day beat the gamblers with my dice' (VII. l. 1); 'Swift as the wind be thou, O steed, when yoked to the car; at Indra's urging go, swift as the mind; the Maruts shall harness thee; Tvaṣṭṛ shall place fleetness in thy feet' (VI. xiii. 1). But he also often mentions in his spell a parallel case, in order to effect his purpose, like the symbolical process in sympathetic magic; e.g., 'With the light with which the gods, having cooked porridge for the Brāhmins, ascended to heaven, to the world of the pious, with that would we go to the world of the pious, ascending to the light, to the highest firmament' (XI. i. 37); 'As one pays off a sixteenth, an eighth, or an entire debt, thus we transfer every evil dream to our enemy' (VI. xlv. 3); 'As the rising sun robs the stars of their brilliance, so I rob of their strength all the men and women hostile to me' (VII. xiii. 1); 'The cows have lain down in their resting-place; the bird has flown to its nest; the mountains have stood in their site; I have made the two kidneys stand in their station' (VII. xvi. 1). A frequent feature of spells, in order to make sure of striking the injurious spirit, the seat of evil, or whatever else is aimed at, is the enumeration of a whole series of possibilities; e.g., 'Out of eyes, nose, ears, brain, neck, back, arms I drive the disease' (II. xxxiii. 1 f.). If, however, the demon is known, this knowledge is emphasized as bestowing magical power over him; e.g., 'This is thy name; we know thy birth; this thy father, this thy mother.'

On the most varied occasions spells are uttered without any accompanying rite. The application of one that may be pronounced by a man on entering a court of justice is thus described (*Pāraskara Grhyasūtra*, III. xiii. 6): 'If he should think, "This person will do evil to me," he addresses him with the words, "I take away the speech in thy mouth, I take away the speech in thy heart; wherever thy speech is, I take it away; what I say is true: fall down inferior to me." Spells are also uttered, e.g., when a man mounts an elephant, a camel, a horse, a chariot, when he comes to cross-roads, when he swims across a river, and in many other situations.

A formula sometimes consists of two or three words, or even of one word. If a man has spoken what is unworthy of the sacrifice, he has only to murmur 'Adoration to Viṣṇu' as an expiation. The daily repetition of the single sacred syllable *bhūh* averts death from him who utters it; 'he has nothing to fear from serious diseases or from sorcery' (*Āśhāla Grhyasūtra*, IV. vi. 1). Again, the mere mechanical repetition of a prayer meant for a totally different purpose may have a magical effect. Thus, the celebrated *Gāyatrī* verse of the *Rigveda* (III. lxi. 10)—'We would attain that excellent glory of Savitr the god, that he may stimulate our prayers'—if

muttered 8000 times, frees a man from the sin of accepting unlawful presents. Even the formulaic use of a stereotyped dialogue secures the desired result. Thus, when the rite of parting the hair of a woman is performed, the husband asks her, 'What dost thou see?' 'Offspring,' she replies.

(b) *The curse*.—A special form of the magically effective spoken word is the curse. The earliest examples of it in Vedic literature are mythological. In the Yajurveda (*Taittiriya Samhita*, II. vi. 6. 1) Agni curses the fish for betraying his hiding-place in the waters, predicting that men shall kill it by means of various artifices: 'Hence men kill fish with various artifices, for they are cursed.' In *Tāndya Brāhmaṇa* (VI. v. 11) the gods curse the trees with the threat that they shall be cut down with an axe the handle of which is made from themselves. That the employment of actual curses was also common in early Vedic times is obvious, and is confirmed by the occurrence of many spells intended to counteract them or to make them recoil on him who utters them. The Atharvaveda contains several such; e.g., 'Avoid us, O curse, as a burning fire a lake; strike him that curses us, as the lightning of heaven the tree' (VI. xxxvii. 2); 'Let the curse go to the curser, we crush the ribs of the hostile eye-conjurer' (II. vii. 5; cf. v. xiv. 5, x. i. 5). Plants, such as the *apāmārga*, are invoked to free from the calamity consequent on a curse. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* contains several passages showing the potency attributed to curses. Thus it is there said (II. i. 4. 19, III. ii. 1. 9) that, 'if any one were to curse him, saying, "May the sacrifice turn away from him," then he would indeed be liable to fare thus'; 'Were any one to curse him, saying, "He shall either become demented or fall down headlong," then that would indeed come to pass.' It is there also said that he who curses a Brāhmaṇa possessed of certain knowledge leaves this world bereft of his strength and the result of his good deeds. In other Sūtras those who raise their hand to pronounce a curse are said to be one of the seven kinds of assassin (*Viṣṇu-smṛti*, v. 191).

(c) *The oath*.—This is really a curse directed against oneself, as is indicated by the verb *śap*, which in the active means 'to curse,' but in the middle 'to curse oneself,' 'to swear.' It calls down on oneself and one's belongings loss of life or possessions in this world and the next as a penalty for telling an untruth or breaking one's word. Thus, in the ceremony of royal inauguration the priest causes the king to swear the following oath (*Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii. 15): 'All the merit of my sacrifices and gifts from the day of my birth to the day of my death, my position, my good deeds, my life, my offspring shall belong to thee, if I deceive thee.' If the oath is broken, the punishment ensues; e.g., the Yajurveda (*Taittiriya Samhita*, II. iii. 5. 1) relates how, when the moon-god did not keep the oath which he had sworn to the Creator Prajāpati, he was attacked by the disease of consumption.

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**MAGICAL CIRCLE**.—For the 'operation' of 'conjuring' spirits the mediæval sorcerer sat in the centre of a circle described on the ground. This formed a spiritual barrier, protecting him from ghostly attacks, while enabling him to question his 'familiar' or other spirits from a coign of supernatural vantage.

'Circoli sunt munimenta quaedam quae operantes a malis spiritibus reddunt tutos.'<sup>1</sup>

The concepts of circle, circular, and encircling lend themselves naturally to dramatic ceremonialism, and ideas of continuity, finality, and eternity have been appropriately expressed by circular symbolism.

In Scandinavian mythology a serpent engirdles the earth. Popilius Lænas, delivering an ultimatum from the Senate of Rome to King Antiochus, drew with his staff a circle round himself in which he awaited the reply.<sup>2</sup>

The circular form of certain shrines and religious structures may involve some symbolism, possibly astrological. According to the Talmud, a round house and a three-cornered house do not become unclean—e.g., from the contagion of leprosy—whereas a square house does.<sup>3</sup> Possibly the sacred number 3 renders the three-cornered house immune; possibly, again, the three corners represent the points of supernatural weapons.<sup>4</sup> In the case of the round house the idea may be that nothing can cling to its smooth outline.

The circle as a supernatural protective barrier has several analogies in primitive custom, and variations of form involve corresponding variations of meaning. Throughout, from the earliest examples to the latest, importance is usually attached to the material or the instrument with which the circle is traced.

Among the Shuswap Indians the bed of a mourner is surrounded by thorn-bushes, the object being to ward off the ghost of the dead person.<sup>5</sup> The Bellaacoola Indians, also of British Columbia, have a similar practice. Besides surrounding the bed with thorns, mourners cleanse their bodies while standing in a square formed by thorn-bushes, as a protection against the ghost.<sup>6</sup> Here the mystic zarba depends not on its shape but on its completeness in the geometrical sense.

Water and fire, excellent bulwarks both in human warfare and in spiritual conflict, and, possibly for this reason, among others, regarded as supreme cleansers, are often used to avert evil influences.

The Laotians had a custom of keeping a fire burning in a circle around the bed of a mother for some weeks after child-birth. In Abyssinia the bed was surrounded by blazing herbs, while the mother herself was held in the circle by 'stout young fellows.'<sup>7</sup> In a moving or dynamic form the fiery circle was used for the same purpose in Scotland. Morning and night fire was carried

<sup>1</sup> G. C. Horst, *Zauber-Bibliothek*, Mainz, 1832, II. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Livy, xiv. 12; Cicero, *Phil.* viii. 3. 28; Vell. Pat. I. 10.

<sup>3</sup> R. C. Thompson, *Semite Magic*, London, 1908, pp. 186, 189.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be one notion in the use of the pentagram or pentacle (see Thompson, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>5</sup> *GBS*, pt. II., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 142, quoting F. Boas.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1912, II. 174.

<sup>7</sup> J. G. Fraser, in *JAL* xv. [1896] 841.